

A R S AVLICA
Or
*The Courtiers
Arte.*

*Principiis virtus maxima usq;
fuerit. M A R.*

Et

*Ministris plenaria virtus.
— — — — —*

Maxima latitudo. Hon.

at, at

Felice obispus.

L O N D O N,
Printed by Melch. Bradwood
for Edward Blount
1607.

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TO THE RIGHT
HONOURABLE

and most Noble
Brothers; unto
The Lord WILLIAM,
Earle of Penbrook,
And
Lo. PHILIP, Earle of
Montgomery.



Right Honourable and Wor-
thie LORDS,
This small
Treatise hapning to speake
English at this time; how I
know not, but by a kinde of
fate, should seeme destined

THE EPISTLE.

to your protection : Who
from your owne practise in
Court can cleereliest iudge
of his arte. You, whose indi-
viduall and innated worths,
besides my particular dutie,
challenge this so equall Pa-
tronage ; and binde me

the most humbly de-

noted to your

honors.



E D. BLOVNT.

Da Dio si prega per appoggio sermo:
Che, fra gl'huomini già non c'è più schermo.

A Fiori, à fumo, à sogno ed ombra vano,
Molt' assomigliano lo nostro stato;
Anzi io per me, non trovo cosa humana,
Che l' histrión, e'l palco; cui dar à lato
Il mondo rivo, & mente nostra insana.
Theatro è quello, & questa per il fato,
'E fatta histrión', cangiando à mille modi
Habiti, & persona; dispreghi & lodi;
Per che ti chieggio,

O gran Chorago de' celesti chori,
Chi co'l cenno sopra i più bassi palchi (ori,
Da legge; à chi, hor, chi tardo è d' uscir fu-
Per far mostra à te, & tuoi gran fini scalchi,
Quanto tutti possono pur megliori,
Et secondo dai merce, o fai d'affalchi.
Fa, ch'io tal mi comporti in questa scena;
Ch' al mondo, nō che da te io se anopi pena,
Fatto che deggio.

Polvere minna.

G. G.

Loren-

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• *comme il est également dans les deux dernières*

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LORENZO DVCCI
to the Noble
Courtiers.



Orthy gentle-
mēn, I cannot
conceine what
more besetting
and fruitfull
Present may be offered unto
you, than that which within
apparent breuitie containeth
in it the meanes how to com-
passē and obtaine that End,
which by seruice is desired.

To

To the noble Courtiers.

To which purpose hauing finisched this present Discourse, by me named The Arte of the Court, in perfection according to the module of my conceits : I giue it, and as I conjecture, most iustly dedicate the same unto you : not, because either by vertue of a long experience, or of an exact judgment, I make profession to be a Master in this Arte, but to manifest, that by the North guide-star of methodicall knowlege, a man may furrow the deepest seas of vnknowen discipline; and haply far from the dangerous rocks of reasonable censures, arriuue at the Port of true and commendable

To the noble Courtiers.

mendable doctrine. If then
my minde herein misgiue me
not, my desired reward shall
be the profit you shall make of
it : but if any man thinke o-
therwise, the way lies open, no
lesse to the triall of his owne
knowledge, than (if he can)
to the correction of other
mens labours. Fare you
well. From the Castle

of Ferrara the 29
of Ianuarie

1601.

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The Preface.



T is my intent to make triall if by the waie of certeine principles, there may anie precepts be established, for the instruction and institution of a woorthy Courtier: Not to shew what vertues belong vnto him, but, presupposing him alreadie to haue that habit, which the Court requireth, to teach him in what maner he should carry himselfe to run the course of his seruice with happynesse.

The Preface.

nesse. And because multiplicite of words is toilsome to the writer, and breedeth confusion in the Reader's mind, I wil make my proofe with that breuitie, whid may exclude obscuritie in the vnderstanding, and yet lie very plaine vnto indifferent capacities.

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from the Princes friends.

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Of the helpe which may be drawn
from

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shall finde himselfe slenderly n-
speeted of his Prince.

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A R S A V L I C A,
— O R —
The Courtiers Arte.

C H A P. I.

*What should be the Courtiers
end or scope.*



L. L. Humane actions haue for their end & scope some good or benefit of him who is the actour of them. The chiefest good principallly thirsted after by man is ^{the humerous} happiness; For this, all actions are done; which either mediately or immediatly regard the same; so that euery Agent properlie worketh for his owne benefit. True it is, that many times in the archievement of

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A R S A V L I C A,
— O R —
The Courtiers Arte.

C H A P. I.

*What should be the Courtiers
end or scope.*



L L Humane ^{The Object}
actions haue ^{of Human}
for their end ^{actions}
& scope some
good or benefit
of him who is
the actour of

them. The chiefest good principle ^{the summe}
cipally thirsted after by man is ^{Human}
happinesse: For this, all actions
are done; which either medi-
ately or immediatly regard the
same; so that euery Agent pro-
perlie worketh for his owne
benefit. True it is, that many
times in the archievement of

B some

Cause of some desired good being very difficult, the helpe of another is expedient, his owne forces not bastant or sufficient. For this cause, in the beginning, were Societies instituted; in the which if euery one should worke for his owne good, without respecting that of his fellow; doubtlesse, they should be vaine and frutless. Wherefore in these, it is behooffull not to worke for proper commoditie, but for publike benefit; for that in this maner euery one as interessed, doe agree to effect and facilitize the obtaining of that good which is desired. The end then of euery Society is the common good of those who are comprehended therin.

*The object
of Society*

*Society in its
relation* The respect and relation of him that commandeth, towards him that serueth, I dare not call

call it a *Socsetie*; for such is the
inequalitie of the termes, that
by many wise men the Seruant is serv. e
held the Commanders instru-
ment; whereby it followeth,
that among them there is no o-
ther end, than the *good* of the
master, knowing it to be cleere,
that we can not distinguish the
end of the instrument, from that
of the agent which mooues the
same. Heere-hence it follow-
eth further, that the *Seruant*
oweth all his actions (as a ser-
vant) vnto his *Master*, and the
Master nothing vnto his ser-
vant; and that therefore recei-
ving any benefit from the com-
mander or *Master*, he is by far
more bound, than by seruing
he can oblige the other; since
in seruing he doth but the acti-
ons of an instrument, the which
are to be acknowledged from

the agent, but in receiuing of a benefit, he hath the same from another as from an affected cause: From the same principle many excellent and important consequences might be deduced, the which notwithstanding I will reserue, as for a place more fit, in that part of *active Philosophie*, which containeth precepts of *Oeconomicall prudence*.

In the meane time wee say, That not entreating heere of naturall or violent seruitude, but of voluntary and electiue seruice, it seemeth, and not without reason, it may pretend to haue in some sorte the qualitie and nature of a *Societie*, and that by consequence we may attribute vnto it for the end therof a kinde of communion of good. And certeinly that heirein the seruice

service due to the Master is most considerable, may be gathered by what alreadie hath beene sayd, as also by weying or iudging of their mutuall bonds : for , if any demand What is the seruants duetie or bond , there is none I thinke that will not answer , To serue his lord and master : But on the other side seeking what is the Masters dutie, we shall finde it, To benefit the seruant according to his merit. So that by this mu- tuall obligation , these two termes *Master* and *Seruant* are vnitied together in a societie ; the which as hath already been sayd , hath for the *end* a com- mon profit. This granted , it seemeth that the Masters scope or end is , the *seruants* benefit , and that of the Seruant , the *Master's service* , since their du-

ties have these references. And if it be so , there groweth a doubt how it may be verified, that *every one worketh for his peculiar profit* , or that this is the naturall inclination of euery man, and of all working thing. But it is answered, that the end are of two sorts, either desired or intended by themselves , or by accident and caused by another. Whereby it followeth, that two, which between themselves seeme contrary , may desire one thing without repugnancy , as in this present case it happeneth. For the seruant desireth for himselfe, and worketh for his proper benefit, moued vnto it by a naturall instinct: but by accident , and for this cause desireth and worketh in the service of his Lord , since that from hence finallie hee draweth

draweth the profit and commodity which he longeth after; whereby there is no contradiction at all, that the seruant should haue for his end his proper benefit, and withall the seruice of his Master.

Yet this doth not wholly resolve the propounded doubt, because it seemeth, that if the true and principall end of the seruant be his owne proper commoditie, we might say that his dutie were to worke, not for his Masters seruice, but for his owne profit: and therefore this is by every man with great reason reiected. Wherfore wee say that a seruant may two wayes be considered, either as he is *sociable*, or as he is *associated*: if as sociable, without doubt the end of his actions is his proper benefit: if as associa-

ted, by the bond of duty which bindes him , his *End* is the seruice of his Master. Or if in other termes, we wil say the same thing , that is , that the seruant hath two *Ends* or *Respects* , one which moueth him to contrarie this societie , and this out of a question and resolutely is his proper benefit ; the other is the end of the societie , and this doubtlesse is the commoditie or seruice of the master, though not disbanded or disioyned from the profit of the seruant, by the participation that this habitude or respect of societie hath betweene the Master and the seruant , the which , as it is said , endeth alwaies in a common profit.

To conclude then, and to reserve that vnto another place, which heere (as not so proper)

we

we will but briefly touch. We say, That the end for the which the *Courtier* voluntarilie submits his necke vnto the yoke of seruitude, is his owne profit, for the which as his end principally intended, he both laboureth and endureth much. But his end, as a *Courtier*, obliged ^{The Courtur} in societie and duetie of seruitude, is the seruice of his Lord, the which he vseth as a meanes vnto the former and more principall, which is his proper benefit, with the intercourse of fauour which followeth the actuall seruice. For the *Courtier* first of all longeth after his owne profit ; but not able otherwise to compasse the same than by the loue and fauour of his Prince, he propoundeth his seruice, and diligently working therein, obteineth his fauour,

which breedeth his owne profit and commoditie aboue all other things by him desired.

* It appeareth then that the ends or scopes that the Courtier hath are three, that is, his proper interest, and this is that which chiefly he endeuoureth: next, the favour of the Prince, as the cause of his first end: and then, the service of the Prince, as the efficient cause of that favour. But because these things haue in themselues some difficulties, a larger declaration is necessary.

CHAP. II.

A declaration of the foresaid ends.

Proper interest, Service, and the Princes favour are, as it is said, the Courtiers ends, of

the which his *proper interest* is the first, and by it selfe desired ; the others by accident and as meanes. Now what is meant by this terme *favour*, is so manifest, that it needs no other explication : but those of *proper interest*, and the *Princes service*, are not so well vnderstood, both the one & the other terme conteining many things, vnto the which (it may be) the end and dutie of a *Courtier* doth not extend.

Let vs first then consider the *service of Prince,* and say thus ; There is *whatifi* no doubt, but the Prince hath diuers and many sorts of men which serue him ; as the souldiers in the war , the Magistrates in time of peace , and those which in his house perform his necessary busynesse. If all then (as it is most plaine) are bound to

to serue him, all their ends shall be the seruice of the Prince: and so if he be a *Courtier* whose end is the Princes seruice, all those aboue named, and particularly such which are in actuall seruice should be *Courtiers*: but it seemeth not only a new terme, but withall, contrarie to common sense and the true signification of the name of a *Courtier*, to comprehend therein, the Souldiers, the Judges and other Magistrates; wherfore we can not lay they are all *Courtiers* which serue, but only some of them, amongst whom wec can not denie those to be held for such which priuately serue him. So as it is fit to consider in the Prince two persons, one publike, which makes him to be a Prince; the other private, by the which we suppose him to be the

the head of a familie, as by the other (as a Prince) hee is head of a Kingdome or Commonwealth. Those then who serue him as a Prince, that is, in the actions belonging to the publike benefit, were never called by the name of *Courtiers*; but those only who serue him priuately, and are comprehended in his familie or *Court*. From this principle, wee draw that which at the first we sought for, that is, what things this service conteineth; for that, from it are wholly excluded all civill ends and publike actions; on the other part are received all those which the domestical businesse or that of the family requireth, in such sort, that as the Magistrate, in another place, shall be by vs termed the Princes instrument as a publike person,

son , so is the *Courtier* his instrument , as the head and father of a familie ; so that all works belonging to the charge of houssholdrie are embraced and conteined in his end as a *Courtier* : and therefore when we say his end to be the seruice of the Prince , it is vnderstood (as wee haue sayd) of all that which exceeds not the limits of housshold affaires .

*proper
interest
what is*

Let vs now come to declare what is vnderstood by proper interest. It can not be doubted that this terme interest doth not conteine all kinde of humane good , though to this large scope of signification , it seemeth the common vse thereof hath extended it , but we ought with reason to aduert the exclusion of that good which cannot be obtained from another : because

cause in vain should the Courtier serue the Prince to that end, to obtine from him that thing, which neither he nor any other could impart vnto him : as for example are the virtues, which in vaine are expected from any other, than from our owne well ordered and proper nature : so that this good excluded, it seemeth (and in this likewise the vulgar opinion doth agree) that for two things principally hee doth take vpon him and vndergo this seruitude ; for profit and honour. Some serue for profit, not esteeming of honour, as the mercenaries ; others for honour only, as the noble, either by birth or greatnessse of minde and spirit ; others both for the one and the other.

Well, let it be so that every man serueth for these two either

profit,
what it is. ther ioyntly or severally. *Profit* particularly includeth in it ri- ches, the which are in abundance of necessaries for our life; as money, lands, cattell, moue- ables, furniture for houses, and such like. But by *honour*, is not vnderstood at all that which followeth the actions or vertuous qualities, since that this good (as alreadie hath beene sayd) dependeth on our proper election and facultie, and may without others helpe be obteined; for I thinke none of opinion, that freely to vse prudence, fortitude, justice or magnanimitie, it is necessary to enter into the Court of Princes; but there rather to obteine degrees of power and dignitie, which commonly are called *honours*; or be it that worthily by meanes of vertuous actions they are attri- buted

buted as honor given in reward
of virtue ; or because , as they
say, Honour is the opinion held of
another's virtue : by meanes
whereof they obtaine in the
world an opinion of merit , or
because he that possessesteth it , is
honoured . So that the honours ^{Court-}
which are the Courtiers end , ^{Honour} what in
are degrees , dignities , power , particular
wealth & the reputation , which
pring from them ; and not the
whole compasse of honour . For
since the actions of vertue may
as wel be vied out of the Court ,
as hath beene declared , the ho-
nours answerable thereunto
may also without being a
Courtier be in like
- maner obtei-
ned .

C H A P. III.

*Of the choice of the Prince
to be serued.*

OVt of these things ma
easilie be drawen a rule
which the *Courtier* is to obserue
in the election of the Prince to
whom he is to dedicate his ser-
vice ; the which requireth great
consideration, for the inconve-
niences which otherwise may
follow : because if in this an er-
ror be committed, it is cleerely
impossible euer to obtine the
end for which he serues ; wher-
by vaine is the labor he shall af-
terwards vndertake in seruice,
false his hope of reward, vnprom-
fitable his repentance , and the
amendment very dangerous :
for that vnto the easie change
of Masters followeth a conceit
of lightnesse, & a difficulty not
happely

happely to be new placed, by
reason of the impediments op-
posed, either by the authoritie
and power of the abandoned
Prince, or by the foresaid opi-
nion of instabilitie, or hard to
be contented, or of arrogancie
according as the cause of the
change may be variably repor-
ted or beleueued : the which
happening by reason of the
Princes discharge or casting off,
can not bee for the most part
without a great staine or blot
vnto the *Courtier*. Wherefore
it is very necessary to be carefull
that this election should bee
wisely made, and it shalbe such,
when the Prince which is cho-
sen may giue cause vnto the
Courtier of that end, which prin-
cipally he pretendeth aboue all
others. But to make a perfect
judgement heerein, wee must
consider

consider the qualitie of the intended end, and the ability and with proportion which the Prince knoweth to the same.

The *Courtiers* and hath already beene said to be his proper commodity, that is, his profit and honour. And because there is no limitation in desired ends which are (as they say) infinite whereupon the Merchant coveteth an infinite gaine, and the Captaine a most singular victorie, so no lesse doth the Courter desire a profit without end and honour in the highest degree that may be obtained.

The Princes abilitie consisteth in power and will, they had wont to ioyne thereunto knowledge; but in this affaire it hath so little part, that without error it may be let passe. Wee must then examine his ability and his

willing-

willingnes, diligently beholding
what proportion they holde
with the forsaide *ends*, and if we
know them to haue proportion
vpon an effectiue cause, most
surely it shall bee good to
make choice of such a Prince:
and to speake more plainly, I
say, that if propounding any
profit, there shall be any Prince
that both can and will impart
the same vnto the *Courtier*, he
is the most worthie whom hee
should serue. In like sort may
wee reason of the other *end*,
which is *honor*, aduertizing, that
the *Courtier* either by himselfe,
or by meanes of some other
who haue greater and more in-
ward knowledge than he, may
learne if these two principals,
that is, *Power* and *Wll* to bene-
fit, be truly in the Prince, whose
power may easilie bee vnder-
stood

stood, as a thing for the moste, vpart commonly knownen, an be must be considered not ond is aff immediatly, as proper in him selfe, but mediatly and by oþre helps; for that, if by himselfe he can not performe much, by his authority be able, so tha by meanes of him it shalbe lawfull for the *Courtier* to hope to his desired end, we may iust say that he is able: but if neither by himselfe nor by meanes another he be able, in vaine the seruice that shall be vndertaken with him.

The *Will* is yet harder to be knownen, the which by nature ouershadowed with many vales howbeit, it is discouered and vnmaskt by due obseruation of the effects: for if the Prince be accustomed to bee beneficiall and seemeth inclined thereunto,

more, we may suppose an habit of
an beneficence, which wanting, he
is assuredly incaple of honour-
able seruice. But in this parti-
cular we must consider a diuisi-
on, because some Princes are
not of a beneficent and liberall
nature towards their seruants;
others are, but much more with
their seruants, to whom by me-
rit of their seruice they thinke
themselues in some sort bound.
The illiberall niggardly and ab-
solute not beneficall, are vn-
worthie of life, since they live
vnprofitably in this humane so-
ciety, wherein nothing is requi-
red more necessarilie, than be-
neficence and liberalitie; such
Princes towards their seruants
are not woorthily enabled for
the seruice of the *Courtier* in-
structed in this arte; wherefore
for the most part they are ser-
ued

ued with mercenarie people without spirit or feeling of honour, and to conclude, worthy of them.

Amongst those who are beneficiall towards their seruants, there are some, who sparingly and with hardnelle grant their benefits and fauours, not because they doe not loue the good of their seruants, but doubting lest hauing profited them, they should abuse their fauors, or suspecting lest shewing themselves too gentle, they should grow too confident and secure. With these kinde of Princes a man may with commendations contract seruice, but how he is to proceed to obteine these fauours shall be fully declared in his place. Some othersthere are, who by benignitie of nature most easily encline

cline to benefit and to doe fa-
vours, who notwithstanding ver-
y consideratly and with a iust
proportion dispence and di-
uide the same ; and these are
those who aboue all the rest do-
serve the seruice of the most
honourable and accomplished
Courtiers: wherfore vpon these
doth fall the wise election, as of
Princes or Lords, from whose
magnanimitie , by meane of
seruice , there is in all reason
hope to obtine their desired
profit and reputation.

CHAP. II. I.

That the Courtier must conceale
the endenor of his proper com-
moditie vnder the apparense of
desire of the Princes seruice.

Bvt to returne to the Cour-
tier's end, and to speake of
some

some things woorthe speciall
consideration; you are to vnder-
stand, that the *end*, by it
owne nature, hath a desire in it
selfe to moue and induce an o-
peration or working; wherfore
labouring in fauour thereof,
those are iudged prouident and
wise; who are seeme to take a
good way proportionate and
apt for the obtaining and com-
passing of the same. But in the
particular of a *Courtier* this rule
faileth, since it is not sufficient
that the actions be wise and dis-
creet, which manifestly appeare
to tend to his *end*, that is, his
proper interest; but those also
which seeme to belong to the
profit and seruice of the Prince:
and the reason is, because the
Courtier is not to expect bene-
fit, without the loue and fauor
of the Prince, which shall never

be

be obtained if he discouer his interessed service , since such kinde of *Courtiers* are esteemed as mercenaries, and more self-friends than their Masters; who supposing that the Societie which they holde with their servant should tend to their profit, take it for an iniurie vnto them, whilst perverting the order, another end is preferred, which by accident (in their opinion) should bee desired. This part was excellently wel understood of a great *Courtier* of whom manie and verie considerable observations are read in *Cornelius Tacitus*, who caufeth *Sejanus* Ann. 4. thus to speake : *Fulgorem bonorum à se nangiam proclarum, excubias ac labores, ut unum ex militibus pro incolimata Imperatoris, male : Hee neither layd before him bright shining ho-*

C 2 hours,

nours, but wist rather watchings and labours as one of the common souldiers for the Emperours safetie. And *Tigillinus* *Idem 14.* saith : *Non se ut Burrhus diuersas spes, sed solum in columnatatem Neronis spectare :* Hee had not diuers hopes like *Burrhus*, but respected the onely health of *Nero*. This man in his time was likewise in great fauour, and by his arte surpast and overcame all his concurrents. In summe, this aduertisement is so necessary, that taking any other course, all hope of euer being fortunate in Court is cut off : wherefore he must not only make profession in words, but with effects make perfect shew to haue no other interest than the absolute seruice of his lord : which to do we will now reach the meanes.

The scope of the *Courtier* is
his

his proper interest, that of the Prince, is his profit. Amongst the actions which the *Courtier* can performe, some respect only his proper interest, some the seruice and commoditie of the Prince, and some are common to both. Of those respecting the proper interest, some are contrary to the Princes seruice, some not: likewise, of those respecting the Princes profit, some are repugnant and contrarie to the Courtiers good, others not. Now, seeking in what maner by meanes of our labour, wee may conceale the desire of our proper interest, with an apparent will of the Princes seruice; we say, first it is necessary that we who wholly abstaine from those actions which behold our proper commoditie to the prejudice of the

C 3 Prince.

Prince. It is also necessarie (although it should not be so great an error to do the contrarie) to beware to doe any thing which immediatly respecteth our proper good. And of all this the reason is cleere enough by what hath beene sayd before.

Those actions now which are common to the *end*, both of the one & the other, are not greatly hurtfull nor profitable to the *Courtiers* intention: but those actions are profitable which regard the Princes commoditie, and especially those which seem to conteine any danger or damage to the servant. Amongst those of greatest importance to maske the appetite of our proper commoditie, are those which are wrought in benefit of the Prince with great danger and detriment of things most deere.

deere. But we must notwithstanding, that the ~~and~~ *double* *Countie* being double, that is, of profit and reputation; in that of honor or reputation we must have speciall consideration and regard, because it shalbe a *virtute* most commendable in a *Courtier* (as a *Courtier*) to despise or refuse some honour or dignitie to continue in the service of his Prince; and in this sort to suffer a damage, is a thing to be desired; but withall it should not be commendable, if for any respect of his Lord he should suffer any blot or staine in his reputation: for that is a thing which amongst men ought to be preferred (as commonly it is) yea before life it selfe. But in that which belongeth to the profit and good seruice of the Prince, he may securely make.

any losse , the which by how much either in aduenture or in effect it shall be greater , by so much the more doth it answer to courtly wisdome. And because vnder the name of profit I meane the goods which may be ginen or taken , and in deed all are termed actions of this kinde (vertue and honour excepted) as when for the honor of his Prince he spendeth hberally ; when hee aduentureth friends and kindred ; when hee leaueth his owne pleasures , and many times his necessary commodities of liuing or of healthfull liuing , as meat , rest , sleepe and such like , so farre as nature will suffer , to preferre the seruice and execute his Princes commandement , and aboue all , when he exposeth his life to danger for the honour , safetie , and

and pleasure of his Prince.

Cornelius Tacitus an excellent Master of *Courtiers*, with an example of *Seianus*, most plainly teacheth all that hitherto hath beene spoken to this purpose: because whilet *Tiberius* was yet in doubt how farre hee might haue confidence in *Seianus*, against whom manie things were muttered: *Forte*, ^{Anno 4.} inquit, illis diebus oblatum Cæsari anceps periculum auxit vanarum moris, præbuitq; ipsi materiam, cur amicitie constantiaq; *Seiani* magis fideret: By chance, sayth he, in those dayes a doublfull perill being offered vnto *Cæsar*, encreased the vaine report, and gaue matter why he should be more cōfident in the friend-ship and constancy of *Seianus*. Then shewing the fall wherin *Tiberius* banketed,

eius os lapsis repente saxis obruit
quosdam ministros, hinc metus in
omnes, & fuga eorum qui conui-
niuum celebrabant; at the mouth
whereof certeine stones falling
downe, slew some of the serui-
tors, wherupon all fearing, those
that prepared the basket fled.
But *Scianus*, borne to obteine,
and (as it were) to impatronise
himselfe in his Princes fauour,
genu, vultuq, & manibus super
Cesarem suspensas opposuit se in-
cidentibus, with knees, face and
handes ouer-panching *Cesar*,
opposed himselfe against the
imminent ruines. This then is
one of those actions which we
before haue pointed at, and is
by the circumstances in the
highest degree, as well, happen-
ing so great a danger of life, as
that the remedie was immedi-
atly taken, and that without

any

any premeditated discourse ; wherby was perceived a minde most readie and well disposed towards the Prince : because it seemed that by a strong motion of nature it selfe well inclined, a worke of so great safetie to his Lord was performed. Wherefore worthily followed the reward which the same Author adioyneth : *Maior ex eo , & quamvis exitiosa suaderet ; ut non sui anxius , cum fide audiebatur* : He grew greater heereby, and although hee should perswade dangerous matters , they were yet faithfully heard , as from one not respecting himselfe. Where these words are of especiall note . *ut non sui anxius* , as not respecting or carelesse of himselfe : because they confirme the principle of hiding the appetite of our pro-

per

per interest, vnder the vale of apparent desire to do the Prince seruice. Such then is the drift or end of the *Courtier*, and as hath beene declared must be covertly or overtly desired, if he will induce the Prince to accept of his seruice, and make a passage for the obtaining of favour, by meanes whereot he winneth the possession both of profit and honor; marks which in his principall intention hee chieflie aimeth at.

C H A P . V.

Of the Courtiers office or duty.

All those desaignes which men purpose, are to be compassed by action or endeavour, the end being first duly considered, that course or action which is taken for the obtaining

teining thereof, is the office of the agent: wherefore the *Courtier* being bound (as a *Courtier*) to haue immediatly in his intention, and withall to procure, the Princes seruice; it is manifest that the action which he purposeth to do, is, to *serue*; not in shew and in will, but effectually and in act: and this is so true, that according to the quantitie and qualitie of such operation, the fauour in proportion is answerable, which is the mediate reward of service; and the Prince which equallic diuideth the same, ought to measure it by the rule of merit, the which (as it is said) groweth from actuall seruice, in such wise, that who most serueth, meriteth most fauour, and who lesse, lesse reward. This is *Courtly right, or law:* as the right

right or law politike and ciuill
is founded vpon merit in the
Common-wealth, that is, of be-
nefits done vnto his countrey,
which desert is recompensed ac-
cording to distributiuе iustice,
whose rule is (as in the *morals* it
is taught) *Geometrscall proportion*: but to speake more fuly to
the common capacitie, we say,
that the *aximm* or ground being
true, *That most is due to him that
serueth most, and leſſe to the leſſe
ſeruing, and nothing at all to him
who actually is not in ſervice*; it
followeth, that they are greatly
deceiued, who thinke with no-
bilitie only, with abundance of
wealth, singularitie in learning,
armes, or ſuch like, to merit
more than thofe vnto whom in
reſpect of ſervice, they are farre
inferiors; because the reward of
the Court (as hath beeне ſayd)
must

must be proportioned as from
the efficient cause from whence
it groweth, vnto the actuall ser-
vice. For as if you were to make
choice of a Captaine to vnder-
take some dangerous enter-
prise, their pretention should
be very vaine, that would per-
suade themselues, either for
their beauty of body, learning,
wealth or nobilitie, to be pre-
ferred in choice, before the
more experienced and practi-
sed in matters of warre, though
lesse learned, and inferior vnto
them in other qualities : the
like opinion is held of those
who in Court pretend greater
desert, for such like respects,
whilst others in diligence of
service go farre beyond them,
because Courtly desert is not
brought into the Court, but is
necessarilic to bee sought for
there,

there, and is by labour obtained : which labour properly of the *Courtier* is to serue. I say not now, that a learned Courtier is not of qualitie greater and more estimable than an ignorant, and a noble man than a plebean , although in seruice ; but I say , these are qualities, which not put in practise or exercised in the Princes service, reape no reward with him, they caute indeed a precedencie of one man before another , as members of a civill societie, but not as Courtiers. So likewise, if (for example) we consider of one nobly borne in comparison of a vulgar person , it is most cleere he is of greater estimation, as a man and part of the Cittie ; but if wee peize and compare them as souldiers, wherin, it may be , the ignoble is more practised

practised and better disposed
(supposing at least it bee so)
without all doubt hee shall be
preferred, and the nobleman
pretending the contrary should
take a vaine and vndue excep-
tion.

But heere we must not let
paſſe a difficulty, occaſioned by
common obſeruance, and iustly
commended of all : that is, let
vs ſuppoſe two in the Prince's
houſhold, whereof one far ex-
celles in nobility, learning and
other like qualities, but little
imploied in ſerviſe ; the other
much iinferior vnto this : It is
thought fit by all, that the more
noble & qualified ſhould more
honourably bee entertained :
wherfore we ſee him ſometimes
honored by the Prince at his ta-
ble, receiueth greater commo-
dities, of lodgings, of ſervants,
precc-

precedency in place, in title, standing couered and in complement ; in fine , the Princes respect of him in estimation is very conueniently more then of the other , whereupon wee may doubt , how this may bee an effect of Courtlie justice , or how the foundation of deserit should be seruice . Whereunto we answer thus ; he who is comprehended in the Princes hou- hold may two waies be consi- dered , either as such a man with such conditions and qualities , or as a Courtier only . If only as a Courtier , I say it shalbe ini-沾ice to him who serueth more to be leſſie rewarded , or but in equall liberality with him , who in actuall seruice was his inferi- our . If as such a man and so qualified , it is very reasonable , that who excelleth in good parts

in title, parts esteemed of in common
d in company, should be had in grea-
te Prince or accompt and reputation.
mation is but there resteth a doubt if we
ore ther hal preferre one consideration
pon we before an other, and that when,
ay bee and in what things : for that we
lice, or see many times the considerati-
f desert ion of one as qualified to bee
ereunto preferred before the other, as a
is com- Courtier, & therfore although
s hous- he serue leſſe, is not withstan-
consi- ding in better place. We see
n with also on the other side, that the
lities, best qualified in some things
f only stand farre inferiour, to the bet-
be in- ter and diligent seruing Cour-
more tier. For, speaking of fauours
ut in (for the most part) the best be-
who loued obtaine them, and those
eri- are, the diligent carefull in ser-
t so vice, they haue greater autho-
ule, ritie with the Ministers of the
od Court, and of the houſholde
rts affaires

affaires of the Prince, yea and of
the publike also, respecting the
power of a *Courtier-favorite*, &
the recompence with profit and
dignity, presupposing their abi-
lities, which ordinarily & with-
out compare is more large to-
wardes them. And strelly the
name of *Minion*, or *Primado*,
which we see commonly attri-
buted to those greatly fauored
in the Court, is not obtained by
the best learned, by the greatest
captains, the most noble, or the
happiest in fortunes blessings;
but by those who in their Prin-
ces seruice are most readie. So
we see *Seianus* preferred in fa-
vour with *Tiberius*, and with
greater liberality rewarded then
any other that serued at that
time; albeit we may safely be-
leeue, there were many, in ma-
ny other things that did surpass
him.

of him. And also those *Pallanti*,
Narcisi, and *Calisti* with *Clau-*
dius and *Tigillinus* about *Nero*,
were not so farre in authority
and fauour aboue others, as vn-
to an infinite number of those
times, they were without all
comparison most inferior in all
other good qualities.

Wherefore we say that the
benefits which the Prince doth,
are of two sorts, one which he
bestoweth amongst his seruants
answerable to their qualitie, as
men in that kind enabled; these
benefits are apparent and doe
not grow vpon any Courtly de-
sert of those on whom they are
bestowed, but vpon the loue
and fauour of the giuer; which
is plaine, because they are be-
stowed in the beginning of ser-
vice, when we cannot say there
was any desert before, & might
aswell

aswell haue beeene granted before any seruice, and it may be greater. The other kind of benefit, is that which is giuen to those, who with great diligence haue served; and these are not granted but after seruice begun, and are augmented as the fauor by seruice doth encrease, which makes vs attaine sometimes to that pitch of grace that *Seianus* did, *qui varijs artibus Tiberiam denixit ad eo, ut obscurum aduersum alios, sibi uni incantum intectumque efficeret*; who by sundry wiles had so bewitched *Tiberius*, that being close to all others, to him alone hee had him open and vncircumspect. But that which more importeth, he came to that height of fauor, that in the iourney which hee made with *Tiberius* out of the city, the *Senators*, non modo

aram

aram clementie, aram amicitie, sed
effigies quoque circum Casar is et
Seianus censuere ; not only ere-
cted an altar of Clemencie and
another of Friendship , but
thought meet to place the i-
mages of Cesar and Seianus ab-
out them. Neither stayed hee
heere , crebris precibus efflagita-
bant , visendi simi copiam facerent ,
most earnestly intreating they
might haue the fauour to be-
hold him , vsing the seruant as
fellow with the Prince ; but
more , that which seemes in-
credible he durst hope for , yea ,
and in scorne of wonder obtri-
ned in mariage the Widowe ,
daughter in law to his Lord .
Neither , it may be , is it of lesse
consideration with the same
Author , that , which a princi-
pall man of the Senate , called in
question for his friendship with
Seianus ,

Sciarus should say (amongst other things) in his excuse, being fallen vnto a miserable end through the whille of fortunes rouling wheele ; *Etsiam Satrium atque Pomponium venerabatur*, wee did likewise Court *Satrim* and *Pomponius* ; neither did this suffice , *libertis quoque ac Ianitoribus eius notescere pro magnifico accipiebatur* ; to bee knownen to his freed-men and doore-keepers we accompted a speciall grace. He saith not to be deere to them or in fauour, but *notescere* , that they would take notice of them : neither doth he say that it was necessary or profitable , but, *pro magnifico accipiebatur* , as a high and speciall grace. At that time it was a reputation and credit vnto the *Senators of Rome* , not as then hauing altogether lost the brightness

brightnesse of their place, to be knownen to *Seianus* freed-men and doore-keepers : To such degree of state sometimes doth fortune heave a circumspect & prouident Courtier, by means of his place woorthily performed , vnto which pitch of height, it is not recorded that ever any attained by fauour or recompence of his Lord who did not serue, but by some other way of merit liued in the Court. Wherfore wee must conclude that the office and duty of a Courtier is actually to serue, and that this is the action wherewith oftentimes hee becommeth not onely possessor, but dispensor too of the fauour of his Lord.

CHAP. VI.

*If in all things the Courtier be
bound to serue his
Prince.*

BVt to the intent it may the better be vnderstood what hitherto hath beeне spoken of the office and duty of a *Courtier*, & that euery man may know within what bounds the duty of him that serueth is confined, and what things his office a bond embraceth, whereupon also the resolution of many things dependeth; it is very necessary to be vnderstood of the *Courtier* to whom it belongeth actually to serue his Prince, (as alredy is concluded) be therefore bound to serue in all things without exception.

For clearing of this doubt, sifted and discussed by many,

me

me thinks, very many effectuall things may be said, neither spoken of nor heard of heretofore, wherin we will proceed briefly and so farre as the vnpromotion of the place will permit, in this manner.

If it were possible without ~~humane felicity~~ ^{worthyness} external helpe to obtaine ~~humane felicity~~ ^{of course}, so that euery man by himselfe, were of sufficiency to compasse it, *Societies* would bee superfluous: but since this is impossible, it hath beene thought necessary, not only to institute them, but with all to make them the more effectuall, fruitfull and firme, to give them ability and vertue, to binde all those that are comprehended in them, to performe and act some thing worthy thereof, in such sort, that every associate, (as such an one) is

D 2 bound

bound to endeuour himselfe to that end whereunto the society tendeth: and that this is true, there is no *Society* found without *Bond*, nor *Bond* without *Society*, either reall or rationall, that is, with tearmes and fellowes really and apparent, or at least distinct in *works* of the minde and vnderstanding, as more plainly we will set downe in the *actine Philosophie*, which is the proper place. Wherefore the bond or duty, is no other thing then the habitude respect or custome which the associats haue together, which is an impulsive beginning to labour for their common good, as their only end. The labour or working which doth grow heereupon is called the office or duty of the associats, the which duty in fine, is no other thing then an action

actio springing from that bond, although this word, bond, is attributed also vnto the action, so that in saying he doth his duty, bond or office, it hath all one signification. Now it is cleare that this duty hath a proportion with the *End*, because that is the cause of the working, and therefore from it, it receiueth the rule, order and moderation, which ought to bee such as the end proposed requireth. Wherefore he doth his duty who worketh proportionably to the end set downe, and hee who doth actions prejudicall to such end, doth the contrary. But he doth more then his duty who doth things comprehending the end and more: and he lesse, who doth things that in their owne nature, are not answerable to the destinated *End*.

D 3 or

or leaueth many things vndon, which to the obtaining of the purposed end are very necessary. Whereupon, both duty and bond, as hath beeene said, being all one, euery associate is bound to labour and indeuor for the end intended by the society wherein he is, and who doth lesse, answereth not his duty, and who doth more, is said to exceede in duty and is commendable, so it doth not prejudice the society in any sort: who doth any action not belonging to the *End*, worketh idly and in vaine, but who doth things hurtfull to the pretended end doth things contrary to his duty and bond. Wherfore we conclude, that by the purposed end of every *Society*, is drawen and knownen what actions euery of the associats

are

are bound to performe, and from which to abstaine, adding thus much for a greater declaration, of the actions which maybe performed in a society, some are commanded and fall vnder the bond which in that fellowship bindeth the associats therof, and these are the necessary actions for the obtaining the desired end, others are forbidden and doe discredit the actours thereof, and those are prejudicall or contrary to that end. In both, the bond of duty hath power, but in those which are necessary it bindeth to the performance, & in those which are contrary to the abstinence.

Let vs come now to our particular purpose : it hath beene already sayd, there is a kinde of *societie* betwene the *Prince* and
D 4 the

the *Courtier*; the which for the
inequalitie of termes, hath not
altogether the common benefit
for end: yet if not that alone, at
least principally that of the
Master, wherefore the *Courtier*
is bound to doe all that which
doth comprehend the benefit,
profit or seruice of his Lord.
And because aboue wee haue
sufficientlie declared that the
seruice which is the end of this
society is restrained to the hous-
hold or *oeconomicall* part, in sort,
that all the housholde actions
which may redolind to the be-
nefit of the Prince, fall vnder
the bond of the *Courtier*, that
is, binde him to effect the same
for the seruice of his Lord: and
on the contrary, all that may
preiudice this *oeconomicall* ser-
vice, is forbidden the *Courtier*,
and doing it, doth a thing vn-
worthie

worthie his name ; and by that reason may be called an infamous seruant , since that as doing well , to the desired end of the societie , he obteineth honor thereby : so who worketh to the contrary is defamed ; yet not simply or wholly , but answerable to the societie and his bond of duty. As for example , hee should be a very infamous souldier , who at the giuing battel should throw away his armes and flie , but not wholly disgraced , because hee might then justly be so called , as if he had betrayed his Prince and countrey , or such like : for the reason which shalbe shewed elsewhere : so likewise he is a dishonorable Courtier who acteth any thing contrary to the *economicall* seruice of his Prince , but not alto-

D 5 gether

gether a disgraced man or infamous citizen.

CHAP. VII.

If the Courtier upon occasion be bound to spend his life and goods in the Princess seruice.

THE Courtier then is bound, as appeareth by what hath beeene sayd before, to serue his Prince in all *oeconomicall* actions, & not bound but exempt from all other not conteined therein, as particularlie hath beeene declared touching the publike affaires. Not, because doing any thing therein, he shal not deserve commendations; but, because not intermeddling or not willing to deale therein, he can not iustly be censured.

The

The like both may and ought to be vnderstood of the particular offices of the Court, for that as the Courtier in generall comprehendeth all the house-hold service, and is not otherwise bound to any thing, as not conteined therein ; so a particular officer or minister of the Court is bound onely to those actions, which particularly belong to his charge, and for the which he hath contracted ser-vice with the Prince : in the other there is no bond to constraine him. But because it hath beeene said, that generally the Courtier ought to do all things belonging vnto *oeconomicall* ser-vise, there riseth a doubt, if therefore he be bound to neg-lect all other respects, and not to care for any losse particularly either of life or goods, fully to effect

effect the same. For solution
then of this difficultie , it is ne-
cessary againe to speake of some
things very important, concer-
ning societie , but moderatlie,
because in our *actuall Philosophy*
wee must speake thereof with
greater plainnesse and more di-
stinctly. Wee say then in the
meane time , that particular so-
cieties do aime at some particu-
lar good wherewith more easily
they obteine that onely happi-
ness whereunto euery humane
desire and thought is bent, as to
the last and most noble end ,
vnto the which the others doe
ferte as meanes and helps, with
such order that those neerest
vnto it are the more noble and
more desired, so that the inferi-
our is commanded and ruled
by the superior, or at least with-
out the hurt or offence of it, na-
ture

ture not permitting, that a thing
lesse desired, should be procu-
red with the offence or hurt of
an other more deere and noble,
for so should the course and or-
der of causes be ouerthrown,
& with that confusion depriue
the second causes of that vertue
and efficacy which they receive
from the first, and by conse-
quence make a surceasing of the
motions which succeed : the
which is true, not alone in the
causes of naturall motion, a-
mongst the which the superior
taken away, the inferiour can
worke or moue nothing at all.
As doubtlesse the elements
should be idle, if the heauen the
superior cause were not, neither
would the heauen moue, if the
internall parts assisted not, nor
should that haue force of moti-
on, if from the superiour, and
finally

finally from the first mouer, by tradition from one vnto the other, there were not vertue im-parted. But so likewise it falleth out in designes and purposed *Ends* ; amongst the which that is the first & chiefest, which by influence (as it were) doth im-part the vertue of mouing the desire to all the rest, and doth make it happy, as hath beene said, and by degrees doth much more qualifie the next adia-cent *Ends*, in such sort, that it is impossible for an inferiour to moue any affection without the vertue of the superiours purpose : but much more to be a-ble to moue the desire towards himselfe, with a preiudice of that good, which doth excede it. By example it will be made more plain. There is no doubt, but the sickeman for his health sake

sake longeth for a medicine: and therefore I say, that it is impossible he should wish for it, or in any sort consent to the taking thereof imagining it hurtfull to his health, and the reason is, because the lesser or inferiour purpose or end, doth not moue but by vertue of the greater and more eminent, and therefore when no vertue doth flow from this, that other by no meanes can be desired, neither then doth it impart any vertue at all, when the inferiour purpose or end doth prejudice or hurt the superior, as hath beeene said of the potion hurtfull to the health.

Now let vs come to our own case, and give solution of the propounded difficultie, which most easily will be done: I say that the *Courtier* can not desire in

in the seruice of his Prince, any thing that shall be hurtfull or contrarie to his owne profit and commoditie; the reason is, because he desireth not the Princes seruice, as thereby mooued vnto it. But by reason of his owne profit which giuing vertue and efficacie to that seruice, to mooue the Courtiers desire and appetite, doth not suffer for the reasons before noted, that he desire it to his prejudice. Wherefore all that is contrarie to the Courtiers profit, meaning that profit, which (as a Courtier) is the end hee aimeth at; hath without question no place in his desires, whilst he desireth to serue the Prince: all which is occasioned by the dependancie of *Ends*, amongst which, his owne profit is chiefeſt and ſuperior; the Princes seruice, the
leſſer

lesser and inferior, whereupon
of necessitie that must be granted,
because howbeit this *Societie*
be not fully a societie, for
the disparity of termes, so also is
there not assigned for the scope
thereof a benefit and commo-
ditie equally common. Yet notwithstanding
since in the con-
tracting thereof, the election of
the Prince interposeth it selfe
aswell as that of the Courtier,
it should in some sort make
common the benefit thereof.
For if you bound it within this
terme, that the scope thereof be
the Princes seruice, but yet so,
as ioined in a sort to the Courtiers
benefit, because it is abso-
lutely impossible to worke for
another, not hauing an intenti-
on for some proper benefit.
And this being knowne (as is
said) by the Prince, he contract-
eth

eth the societie with a band on his part also , that is , to benefit the seruant (as hecreafter shall be declared) and is contented the Courtier serue him, intending his owne profit: wherefore the Prince desiring, that either without this, or contrary to this *interest*, the Courtier should serue, requireth a thing contrarie to all right : neither is the Courtier in any sort bound to serue him. And more particularly to come to the propounded difficultie, I say, that neither the Prince can looke for it, nor the Courtier is bound to spend his life for his Lord , the reason why, is, because the life is farre more deere, then all that he can either hope for , or desire in seruice. Whereupon as he should be held for one vnuadised , who for a lesser good, should

should chuse the losse of a greater benefit , so should that *Courtier* have little discretion, who for the obtaining of the purpose of his seruice , which consisteth in profit, dignity and power , would aduenture the hazard & losse of his life, which by many degrees is more deere vnto him, then al these benefits; yea such as without the which therest cannot be obteined:and if we resolve thus touching the life , much more ought we vnderstand the same in case of *honor* and *reputation*, according to the Ciuill opinion, which is far more precious then the life in the highest degree. Concerning *Goods* , the resolution is not so easie, since those who propound vnto themselues , the increase or winning of profit, it is necessarie they consider what they lose

lose and what they hope to get, because it may bee aunswered in this sort : That it is fit to spend lesse of a mans abilitie in his Masters seruice , then that which he is in hope to get by the same : neither is it ment the *Mercenary Courtier* is bound to impouerish himselfe , and suffer detriment in his wealth , fully and competently to serue his Lord. But who so preferreth dignities, honor and power, respects of much greater estimation then riches, may securely for the obteining of them spend of his owne, as voluntari- ly, not of dutie , if the contract either exprely or couertly binde him not thereunto. The which point of contracts is ver- ry considerable , amongst the which are the vse and custome of the Courts , the which more

or

or lesse tie the Courtiers to like expences. As if the Prince in any Court vse to keepe table for his seruants, the Courtier knowing the same, and bound to seruice, is to serue at his owne charge; which in other Courts he were not, where the custome is the Courtiers shall be found their diet. But of like matters, as things of small note, there needs no longer discourse.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Princes bond or dutie towards the Courtier.

Hauing now resolued and made plaine the proposed difficulties, it is requisite before wee passe any farther, to shew, (and indeed the Courtier may in reason desire to be satisfied) what the Princes office or dutie

dutie is towards him , hauing
fully set downe the *Courtiers*
dutie vnto the Prince; to the
end he may know what to hope
for by his seruice, and how farre
to stretch the limits of his pre-
tentions, because hercōf it may
follow, that hee will neither in-
discreetly make offer of his ser-
vice , not knowing to what end
he shal labour, nor happely shal
vniustly complaine of his Lord,
as nothing liberall or beneficial
towards him : a thing which as
it many times falleth out , so is it
with all possible care to be re-
mooued , since iars and conten-
tions doe stop the passage to fa-
vour, and for the most part
breed disgusts and pikes of ill
satisfaction & diffidence both
on the one side and on the o-
ther. But because these things
shall be more largely treated of
else-

elsewhere, we will onely heare
restraine our reasons to breui-
tie, and point at that which to
our present matter seemeth ne-
cessarie. Wee saie then that
though the society of the Prince
with the *Courtier* (as before is
noted) be not a perfect society
whereby the end thereof is not
as in others, wholly the com-
mon benefit, there is no doubt
 notwithstanding, but the Prince
hath likewise on his part a cer-
taine bond, by vertue whereof
he is tied not alone to desire,
but withall to looke out and
performe, some thing which
may be beneficiall and commo-
dious for his seruant. And this
is that which at this time wee
purpose to manifest, that is, vnto
what kinde of benefit, and
vnto what termes he is bound:
because as the *Courtier* (by what
hath

hath beene said) is not bound to serue him , but in some things, and in those also by certaine limits ; it seemeth very reasonable, that withall, neither the duties of the *Prince* should extend to euery benefit , whereof the *Courtier* is capable, but vnto some onely, and in those , vnto some determinate end , so that the one bond may be answerable vnto the other, and that betweene them , there may be a due and iust proportion, that it may not seeme , this *Societie* is rashly or inconsiderately made. There is no doubt then , but moderating this dutie by the End, such should the action be, as the first purpose requireth, and since we haue said the finall end or scope of the *Courtier* to be his Proper interest , it is most cleare , that as hee is bound to worke

worke or indeuour to bring to passe that *End*, which moued the *Prince* to conclude *societie* with him, which is his *Proper service*: in like sort the *Prince* is bound to worke for performance of that end which moued the *Courtier* to linke himselfe in bonds of seruitude with him: So as wee may say, that the *Prince* is bound to worke for the benefit of the *Courtier*, in those things that the *Courtier* propoundeth to obteine by seruice, and those are *Profit* and *Honour*. But the greatest difficultie resteth, that is, how farre foorth, or in what measure And truly, if we consider that in cases of *Societie*, no man performeth his dutie if hee give not satisfaction to his companion: which if he doe, it will be judged that hee hath performed the expe-

E station

station, this satisfaction then riseth from the proportionate working to that end which his associate desireth.

Endes, as hath beeene said before, are in themselues infinite, that is, desired without measure: so as the Courtier desireth not an indifferent profit, or a meane degree or dignitie, but the greatest that may be obteined. I speake not indefinitely, but as from that Prince, because hee must not in his desires extend himselfe further then the Princes abilitie doth serue, that rule being well knowne, that no man is bound to an impossibilitie: it should bee an insatiable desire, which should so farre carry any man to request more of his lord then hee can doe, or grant or procure by his authoritie. It seemeth then hitherto, that the Prince

Prince is bound to offer al those honors and profits vnto his Courtier, which immediately or mediatelie he can grant. Notwithstanding we must note, that as the Courtier himselfe, is not bound to doe all that he can in seruice of his Prince, when the performance thereof shall bee prejudicall to his proper interest: so much lesse is the Prince bound to benefit the Courtier in such things as are damageable or offensiuе to his seruice, & so much the more, by any action prejudicall to more important and desired benefits of his owne profits: hence may bee gathered, whether he be bound to benefit the Courtier in things which bring dishonor or special detriment to his owne affaires or fortunes, danger to his life, disage to his person, or dis-

E 2 pleasure

pleasure to his minde : by these principles also may be examined, if hee bee to benefit that Courtier, who of necessitie is to abandon his seruice, and many other commendable thinges woorthic the knowledge of the curious. But because to proceed further heerein were to exceed those termes wherein a methodicall writer is to conteine this arte, they are differred and shall be (God willing) fully handled in that part of *actua Philosophy*, which treateth of *Oeconomicall prudence*.

CHAP: IX.

Of two sorts of seruices considerable.

Forasmuch as I suppose we haue sufficiently discoursed of the purposed scope or end of the

the Courtier, and of his duty in generall: aswell the order of the treaty as their profit to whom we intend it , requireth , that we draw vnto the particulars so much as we may , to confirme and establish precepts & rules for the more prouident proceeding therein. You shall vnderstand therefore ; that there are two kind of seruice which may be done vnto the Prince , the first is due and answereth to the particular charge or office which is held in court, either of *Steward, Treasurer, Auditor, Secretary* , or such like. The second is not otherwise contained in duty, but offereth it selfe of a free-will and election beyond all duty, and the reason heereof is , that the fauour being answerable to the seruice that is done : who desirith

E 3 greater

greater fauour, then that deserued by this particular service and proper charge which hee holdeth in the Court, must likewise enlarge himselfe in seruice, and by that meanes merit a greater portion of fauour, by prefiguring vnto himselfe an obiect which in the amplitude thereof may be answerable to the whole copasse of the seruice hee may doe to the Prince, but so, that the parts respectiuely and in proportion correspond vnto the parts of his seruice, in such sort, that to the office of Secretary, of Auditor, and the like, there be allotted such measure offauor, so restrained within his limits, that it partake not with that of an other office. Wherefore it is necessary for the *Courtier* who hath in purpose to be absolutely possessed

of

of al fauor nor to content himselfe within the termes of his particular service, but wisely to endeuour the extention of his confines in a more ample sort. Yet with this condition, not rashly to discouer himselfe an usurper or intruder vpon other mens offices or charges, because this would breed a mongst the *Courtiers*, and a conceipt of presumption with the Prince. And therefore must rather choose to deale with those which priuatly belong not to any one, but are indifferent to all, and may therefore be exercised by any Courtier without the preiudice or displeasure of any one. This kind in what it consisteth shall be declared in his place, in the meane time we will call it, *vo-*

E 4 *luntary*

*buntary seruice, as the first seruice
of duty.*

But there ariseth heere a doubt, which is this, if he may not haue the whole fauour, who taketh not vpon him the whole seruice, which cannot be done without the offence of others, and it may be the little satisfa-
ction of the Prince: it follow-
eth then that it is impossible euer to be full possessor of the entire fauour. Whereunto it is answered, that to intrude into an other mans charge, not cal-
led & without authority, doth breed bad effects as hath beene noted before; but either called or prouoked thereunto by the Prince, or put in trust therewith through confidence obteined with him, then he both may and must doe it, where you shall understand

understand that the order to obtaine such fauour, is thus: by seruing diligently to the Princes liking in his speciall or appointed office, that part of grace or credit is thereby obtained correspondent thereunto, offering of himselfe in voluntary serui-
ces that doe encrease credit and fauour, from which encrease, occasion is offered (as more distinctly shall be set downe) to insinuate himselfe into the con-
fines of other mens offices: so that by well seruing, fauour is augmented, & by this increase groweth occasion to posses the entire seruice; whereunto afterward is answerable, the absolute embracement of the Princes loue and fauour; for the win-
ning wherof the Courtier chiefly laboreth as the only cause of his felicity.

E 5 Yet

Yet heere riseth a greater question, because it is very manifest to be vaine and superfluous to encrease diuers esences & things without speciall neede or necessity : though it be not without cause , the institution of many officers in a Court, since one alone cannot suffici- ently satisfie the Princes affars : and if then it be so, he laboreth in vaine, whosoeuer hopeth (as hath beene said) alone to vndertake the whole seruice , and by consequence , it shall be la- bour lost, to aspire the winning of the whole fauour. To this it is easily answered, shewing first by example, that in the greatest administrations, one alone may sustaine the charge of all the seruice of a great Prince : as hath beene done by the antient *Pre- tors* and *Proconsuls* : who were sent

sent into diuers Prouinces: and by the *Viceroyes* and gouernors who are at this day destinated to the greatest charges, and who doubtlesse vndertake the whole seruice of the Prince in those gouernments, for that in him, that is in his authority, the whole multitude of inferiour officers are vnited. Wherefore I say, that one effectually or in act of execution is not capable of all the offices in the whole Court; some of them being so nice and troublesome, that they require a whole man, free from all other care: but in effect he may containe them all, being able by his authority to institute, ordaine, distribut, moderate and moue all; so that the whole domesticall businesse of the Prince may be perfectly satisfied: for that how be it this seemeth

seemeth the office of the Master and not of any seruant, we see notwithstanding for the most part, affaires to be so little pleasing vnto Princes, especiallie of housholde matters, that they had rather leaue the whole charge, to the wisedome and fidelity of some one thought worthy thereof; in which sort it is not impossible that it should bee vndertaken by one alone. Yet it resteth that we discourse more particularly of the two kinds of seruices propounded, and first of seruice due.

C H A P. X.

Of seruice by duetie or affectioned.

IT is necessary that first we beginne our deserts with some particular duetie, a thing which ordina-

ordinarily happeneth to all that will haue footing in Court, because for the most part there is some speciall title of seruice assigned them, in the which they must by all the possible meanes they can, giue satisfaction to the Prince. So that, as according to the old sentence, *ex nihil nihil fit*, in like sort, it is impossible for him euer to obtain any fauour, who hath no portion or place of seruice; but hee that possesseth any part, as necessarily euery Courtier doth, may make himselfe passage to speciall fauour. And certes hee deserueth the name of a wise Courtier, who in the beginning can giue such force and vigor to his seruice, or any part thereof, wherein he shall be emploied, that hee grow fruitfull and fertile in his Princes fauor, euen to

to the last and highest degree: for those in course are most commendable, who by their dexteritie and Courtly valour come neerest to this marke. To doe the same then, it seemeth very requisit to begin (as it hath beene said) from the woorthie and due performance of his proper charge and place, whereof we may not heere giue precepts. Because if the Courtier be to be Master of the horse, let him haue recourse to *Cavalierizzi* and such as teach to manage them; if an Auditour, to those skilful in accounts, & such like: the which as every man may see are not within the terms of this Arte. But howsoever, let him endevour to be skilfull in his owne office, for thereby he shall obteine that fauour and grace correspondent thereunto;

it

it being a thing not questionable, that an excellent *Divine*, a *Secretary*, or *Auditor*, manifesting themselves by their works, should prouoke and allure the loue and fauour of the Prince, by so much the more, as they are more rare and excellent. True it is that here we must call to minde that which before in another place hath beene spoken, that is, that the fauour of the Court is not gotten by the opinion of vertue, but by the use and exercise thereof to the Princes profit. Wherupon none of them that will deserue well, must content himselfe to bee singular and perfect in his profession alone, but how with greatest perfection and rarity in seruice to giue satisfaction and pleasure to his Prince. This chiefly consisteth in manifesting an

an exact diligence with a desire
to spare no paines fully to giue
him satisfaction : for as benefits
ioyned with loue and kinde de-
monstrations infinitly encrease
respect and duetie , so likewise
seruice done with an earnest af-
fection and a kind of partialitie
towards the Prince , worketh
maruellous effects ; this being
most certeine, that manie petie
seruices , and almost vnworthie
consideration , only accompa-
nied with an affectiu shew ,
haue beene the beginnings of
speciall rewards and incredible
faours : and to say truth, there
is no such price or meanes to
compasse or win loue, as loue it
selfe. But heerin we must stand
well aduised to shunne a most
dangerous rocke, that is, *curious*
and open affectation, which may
breed an opinion in the Prince
of

of want of judgement, in knowing what's conuenient, or els that which is more perillous, a doubt or suspect of dissimulation, and by consequence an effect of hatred or scorne, not alone with the Prince, but with the Courtiers also, who take no pleasure that any man should be ouer-diligent, or in appearance too-too passionate in the Princes seruice. Next, not to give matter of iest by beeing seene beyond all termes of modestie or decorum to become like an inamoured louer in the seruice of his Lord: This affection which is an excesse, consisteth in nothing else than in making the shew before named with greater ardencie and more earnestlie than is fit, either in the action, which requireth no such diligent affect, or at least,
not

not of him that doth it , but of persons more inwardlie conioint , and of the Princes confidents : or in respect of the place and time, as where the Masters eye is present , or els such persons as necessarily or in all likelihood will give him notice of the same, it should be conjectured that therefore he doth exceed in shew thereof, the which by so much the more growes odious , by how much it is discovered to be done for his own profit and commodity : and the more ridiculous, being knownen the effect of a weak iudgement, to observe *decorum* in himselfe, or in his actions, place or time, & other circumstances, al which proceed from a plebeian and a servile mind. But on the other side , it seemeth such demonstration and shew is done with reason

reason and conueniency , when
in the execution of that which
to our proper charge belong-
eth, we do so much as is thought
fit and necessarie , and besides
that, perceiving in the Prince a
desire that the action be reitera-
ted , or that a greater diligence
be vsed therein , we endeuour
fully to satisfie him , shewing to
do the same , not only without
any grudge or murmuring , but
with a willingnes and pleasure ,
though it may be inwardly it be
griuous and displeasing , and
therefore we must not attend til
by command the Prince disco-
uer his desire , but diving (as it
were) into his minde , make an
incounter with his pleasure ,
preuenting the discouery ; be-
cause the Prince by nature ear-
nestlie desiring his proper ser-
vice , which consisting in the
Courtiers

Courtiers diligence, of necessitie taketh pleasure to see him, not liberall alone, but prodigall (if we may say so) in an earnest curiositie and desire to consume himselfe, for his absolute and compleat satisfaction. And in this sort wee must thinke, the *Courtier* exactly doth performe his duty in his particular charge, from whence there is hope offered him, when time shall serue, to propagate and enlarge his confines, within the which his office is restrained, it being verie likelie, that the Prince being satisfied of his abilitie and readinesse in his privat office, will giue a passage and entrance vnto greater affaires, which shall be the fruit to have performed his dutie, as was requisit, by reason of the place he beareth in the Court.

CHAP. XI.

Of voluntary or assistant service.

But if notwithstanding all
this diligent obseruation of
the things aboue saide, the
Prince shall affoord vnto the
Courtier no more fauour then
is iustly answerable to his parti-
cular seruice; it is fit hee seeke
out other meanes for his pro-
motion, and to say trueth, who-
soeuer will haue, a greater re-
ward then which of due belongs
vnto him, it seemeth very requi-
site, that he doe also some thing
more, then that which of right
appertaines to him, wherefore
hee must not onely endeavour
himselfe diligently to satisfie
his owne charge or place, but
to imploy himselfe withall in
some other things, whereby the
Prince may make conjecture of
the

the *Courtiers* loue, and incel-
sant will to doe him seruice. Yet
true it is, that heerein wee must
be very circumspect, because to
insinuate or thrust himselfe into
other mens charges without or-
der from the Prince, should be
a rashnesse and presumption;
wherefore hee shall note that
there are certeine endeuors to
this purpose very fit, as those
which not onely are not hate-
full, but very acceptable.

Chiefly this assistance seemeth
to be in places, where the being
is both honorable and commo-
dious to the Prince, and these
are in the forechamber or that
of the *Presence*, where manie
strangers meeting, either by oc-
casion of busynesse, or other
complement, it cannot but be
very gratafull vnto the Prince,
to see it well frequented with his
seruants

servants, creatures & fauorites, by whom they are receaued, honored, enteraineed, and in the end brought before him. In like sort when he feedeth, it cannot but be pleasing vnto him to bee incircled with manie atten-dants; As also in his visitations, or if hee chance to goe abroad, to haue many about him , affi-redly will be very acceptable, aswell for their readinesse vpon any occasion that may be of-fred, as by the honorable re-spect which he receaueth , not so much by the multitude, which is a sign of magnificence, as by their diligent seruice, which argueth a liberal and be-neficiall minde in him ; where-fore the Courtier must not thinke it tedious or time lost to be present vpon such occasions, the which thing will make so much

much the greater impression, if such be his office, as by vertue thereof he may well be excused, because by how much lesse hee is bound thereunto, the greater note is taken of his affection. This then is the benefit which is gotten by this attendance or assistance, which in summe, is the Princes satisfaction, but the fruit which it bringeth with it, is of much more importance by the occasions which are offered of infinite consequence in this arte: for that by this attendance, in place where he is often subject to the eie of the Prince, he winneth every day a greater familiaritie, and accustoming his sight to the obiect of his person, the Courtier doth stil keepe himself in a fresh remembrance: besides all this, manie times there falleth out occasion of busynesse

busynesse in some matters, the execution wherof either in their own nature, or for want of time or other cause, is not committed to those to whom in Court it doth properly belong; but to such whom chance or choice made present; and although this belong not to their office, as hath beeene said, yet yeelding satisfaction, by the dexterous performance thereof, it moueth in the Prince a thought and will, choicely or by name to command him at an other time, and in the end to possesse him wholly with that charge. I leauē to speake of the accidents which may fall out, by one whereof, or very few of them, the entire fauour may bee obtained. It is most cleere, that *Seianus* by many sleights made conquest of *Tiberius* loue: yet that accident

F of

offalling of the *gross* or *caue*, whose ruins he held vp, defending the life of his Prince, with perill of his owne, did so farre aduance his fauour, that afterwards euен at his pleasure they might dispose of him. But amongst the rest of al these, there are two most important benefits, by this diligent assistance or presence, the one is the knowledge of the nature & humour of the Prince : the other is occasions, which often fall out, to haue discourse or talke with him. The knowledge of the nature, customes, affections & humour of the Prince, is most necessary, for imitation and accomodating your selfe vnto him. The occasion of discourse or talke with him, is of no lesse infinite consideration and profit ; whereof it being so, that we

shall

shall speake hereafter ; we will
in the meane time saie some-
thing of the meanes how to
know the humor of the Prince,
and of fitting your selfe there-
unto ; and after we will treat of
reasoning and discourse with
him.

C H A P. XII.

*Meanes how to know the na-
ture and affection of
the Prince.*

IF it be necessarie euerie arti-
zan have knowledge of the
matter wherein he is to shew the
essence and forme of his arte
and occupation ; as the Tailor
of cloth ; of iron the Smith ; and
the Mason of marble : If the
Physitian can not put in pra-
ctise his facultie, without a pre-
cedent knowledge of the body,

F 2 curable,

curable, and to be short, of eu-
erie agent, presuppose the know-
ledge of the subiect wherein
they are to worke : we may also
say it is great reason, that the
Courtier being by his labour
and industrie to induce and
gently wrest into the Prince's
minde a loue and liking of him,
should by so much as is possible
haue a full and perfect know-
ledge of him, to the end that
by this foreknowledge, he may
order, rule, and moderate al his
actions: since it is out of questi-
on, that there is not one maner
of proceeding with all men: for
we may by some way obteine
the fauour of one, which would
procure the hatred of another:
wherfore if the nature of every
one lay open and were mani-
fest, so that easily it might bee
learned and perceiued, it were

an

an idle thing to giue precepts
to obserue it, or to obtine the
knowledge therof. But because,
than it, there is nothing more
close or secret to him that hath
not prying eies alwaies open as-
well of body as minde, it shall
not bee superfluous briefly to
discourse of this matter.

We say then that diuers are
the meanes wherby the natures
of men are knownen, amongst
the which the art of Physiognomy
doth helpe very much, by
meanes wherof some haue been
able to penetrate and search in-
to the inmost and most concea-
led affects of the minde of other
men : And howbeit the arte
seeme full of fallacies, yet when
many signes concurre together
signifying one and the same af-
fect, then wisemen will not that
it bee vaine to giue credit, as

F 3 settled

settled vpon naturall grounds.

Galen on their side is of opinion, and hath largely discoursed thereupon, that Animi mores

sequuntur temperaturam corporis.

And vnto him the whole Colledge of the best Physitions do content, that the temperature and composition of the body

being knownen, it is most easie to gesse what are the affects, manners and naturall inclinations of the minde. The Rhetoritians, amongst whom Aristotle, as chief & Prince, teach this excellent rule, to consider the age and condition ; as whether old or yong, or of a middle time, whether noble or ignoble, rich or poore, whether potent or of meane fortune , and such like, vnto which conditions he doth attribute their particular affects and manners , so that knowing in

in which of them any man is found, presently are his affecti-
ons knowne: we may besides ioine vnto these the education
and profession, apt also to qua-
lifie and give a habit to their
subiects. Likewise in the books
by me set forth of *Eloquence*
it is declared, that from the
phrase of speech and meta-
phors that are vsed, the nature
of him that formeth them may
be perceiued, and this also to
haue beene the opinion of an-
tient sages, whereof as I suppose
in that worke I haue giuen suf-
ficient reason.

But because these & such like
waies are too much grounded
vpon Generals, & to the Cour-
tier by reason of the place he
holdeth, there is a more secure
passage offered, we say that the
true meanes to attaine to the

F 4 know-

knowledge of the Princes nature and custome is by his actions: and yet not all, but those of choice, because these discover the inclination, as by the effect the cause is knownen; and although dissimulation, at first sight putting on a colourable habit, and occasion of the action, either different or contrary to the naturall propension and inclination, it is yet notwithstanding impossible to conceale or hide the same, from a circumspect and wise Courtier, for that if watchfully he shall obserue actions, it will easily appeare whether he worke naturally and by a contracted habit, or else dissemblingly; because nature being euer the same, and habits being gotten by custome, the actions must needs be vniforme and alike within

within themselves. But dissimulation wherewith nature is not inuested, but over-shadowed cannot be of that force, but that some beame or raie of the true and naturall inclination at one time or other will pierce and passe the same, and this is so true, that as yet there hath never beene seene, nor is it possible, euer to see so excellent a dissembler, who hath not beene discouered and vnmasked by him who familiarly shall deale with him and carefully consider his actions by due comparing them together. Because the arte of dissembling groweth of a forced and contrary habit vnto nature, it cannot be, but many times of his proper force withdrawning it self from vnder so heauy a yoake it will worke actions quite contrary to those

of dissimulation. True it is that the cunning dissembler is caute-
lous and wary, and therefore doth not disrobe himselfe of his habit, but either by violence or confidence: by Violence, I meane forced by some mighty hand to say or worke the truth, a thing which cannot fall out betweene the Prince and the Courtier. But there is an other kinde of violence, very profit-
able, and to be considered, that is, an excesse of the affections stirred vp or moued: the cause is, reason being sometimes trou-
bled induceth forgetfulness of that caution, openeth the se-
crets of the heart, and discou-
reth that, which dissimulation kept most secret, besides the promptnes or difficulty it selfe of falling into these excesses lai-
eth open what is the true natu-

rall

ral habit, because from hence it groweth that he is more or lesse prone or apt to perturbations vpon such like motions. But the consideration of Confidence is of most speciall importance, the which particularly consisteth in *places* and *persons*, and in the persons is considered the beneuolence wherewith they are made firme, or the opinion of their incapacity to vnderstand and penetrate, as also to make manifest that which they know in the *places*, for that the chiefest end of dissimulation being to maske or shadow naturall instinct, when the places give assurance, promising secrecie by their remotenesse from the knowledge of men they do easily entice the dissembler to give the raines & liberty to the force of nature; and by the same reason,

reason, to discouer himselfe to
muddy persons of little vnder-
standing, and lesse accustomed
to their caution : or rather be-
cause naturall actions, are done
with more ease & pleasure, they
put off, or at leaste easie them-
selues of that habit of dissimu-
lation : they doe this and much
more with persons of whose
loue they are very confident,
and therfore it is reported that
Seianus varijs artibus Tiberium
deuinxit adeo, ut obscurum aduer-
sum alios, sive unincantum in-
sectumque efficeret : By sundry
sleights had so bewitched *Tibe-*
rius, that being secret to all o-
thers, to him alone he lay open
and vncircumspect.

The *Courtier* then who ear-
nestly desireth to sound his
Princes minde must, mal-gree
dissimulation, haue notice of
his

his actions in his most retired places, know what talke he hath with common persons, particular confidents, and with those that either by age or want of wit may make him more secured, because by the collection of the actions and talke observed and compared together, and the conformity or disagreement betweene them well considered, the way will be very plaine to know him awel within as without. Taking care notwithstanding to doe this in such sort, that for a *Courtier* you be not taken as a spie, and withall remember, that *tam nescire quendam, quam scire oportet*: It is as fit not to know some things as to know them: To conclude, all these actions must be tempered and accompanied with dexterity, the which cannot be taught,

taught, but must be naturall, though by experience in many things, it be much refined.

C H A P. XIII.

*The manner how to accommo-
date himselfe to the Prin-
ces humor.*

Now that the *Courtier* shall haue perfect knowledge what is the humor and inclination of his Prince, it resteth to consider in what sort hee is to conforme himselfe thereunto in his seruice; wherefore we say, that the nature of the Prince, either is plaine and open, and as they say, *absque fuso, & fallacia,* or it is encombred and shadowed with a skreene of dissimulation. If it be open, the rule is easie therein to be observed, because to what he is scene to incline

cline, to the same without all
question is the Courtier to en-
able and conforme himselfe,
professing armes if the Prince
be of nature martiall ; learning
& letters, if he delight in know-
ledge; in holinesse and religion,
if he be deuout ; neat and deli-
cate in apparell, entertainments
and all other things , if he vrge
this ; diligent and quicke in ex-
ecution , if he in his actions be
exquisite and by nature speedy.
To conclude, he is to adapt and
fit himselfe by all the meanes
he may vnto his will, and make
himselfe, if it bee possible, the
very portraet of his properties
and fashions. Because selfe love
which is the roote of all other
loves, chiefly extends it selfe
vnto his like, and more towards
those who conforme them-
selues in maners and naturall
inclination

inclination thereunto. Besides, if he make shew of imitation not by pronenesse of nature, but by wil & of choice purpose, this also is very pleasing, & is as an approbation of his actions, manners, and choice ; a thing of all men desired : or at least as in tearmes of obedience and consent.

It is by oddes a thing more difficult to fit himselfe to dissembled humors : because framing himselfe to that which fainedly the Prince professeth, it is most cleare that such conformity doth not light vpon his naturall inclination , and therefore doth not search vnto the quicke , but resteth vpon a superficiall affectation : On the other side , if he will make profession of the Princes fashions with a close dissimulation , it cannot

cannot bee pleasing vnto himself without his own preiudice, knowing that no man praiseth or commendeth that in another, which he doth truly hate in himselfe (I speake in matter of cariage or behauour) and surely hee should feed himselfe with a vaine hope , that should thinke to be pleasing by intemperance , to him that maketh shew to be deuoted vnto contiency : or by a defire of reuenge to him , who either openly or couertly declares himselfe easie to forget all iniurie s. To conclude , the Prince dissembling, cannot openly bee delighted with any one , that shall make shew to haue a habit in that, which colourably he is faine to couer , without manifesting the truth of his inward meaning, and making the false appearance

rance to be knowne. But on the contrary, he doth not truly conforme himselfe vnto the Prince who doth not wholly fit himselfe to his true and naturall inclination. Wherefore in these difficulties, it seemes the indifferent way is not to discouer himselfe openly or by a professed habit to be contrary to the dissimulation of the Prince ; (for example) shewing himselfe incontinent, with one that professeth temperance. For that this might in reaon seeme a despising of him, and to have in slighte-steeme the disgust or displeasure which he by these actions and contrary courses might give to the Princes open and apparent disposition : or else might breed suspect of his knowledge of the disguise or counterfeiting ; a thing, which questionles might

win

win him hatred. But the Courtier must shew himselfe to bee naturally inclined thereunto, although in reason hee repugne the same, and be faine to force himselfe thereunto : because that which is truly naturall vnto the Prince, shall so much the more be iudged a naturall inclination in him, though masked with a vaile or dissimulation. Hence it is very likely would grow great good liking in the Prince, and the high way vnto confidence would be made easie : besides, since needs he must lie open vnto some, it is cleere, he will sooner discouer himselfe vnto one, to bee of like affect, and much more if happily the Courtier be able to serue him in that inclination ; wherefore we say it is necessary in termes of obedience and of dutifull regard towards

towards the Prince dissembling, to conforme himselfe in some part to the coloured affect and fashion. But to make passage vnto confidence, it is more profitable to giue apparent signes of a true, or a truly dissembled inclining in himselfe, the which inclining must bee like to that which he knowes truly to be naturall in the Prince, vnto whose humour in my opinion this is the next way to bee conformable.

C H A P. XIII.

Whether it be fit to haue often speech or conference with the Prince.

WE come now to speake of the conferences with the Prince, and first of all let vs consider, if it be profitable

to

to the Courtier to haue easie access vnto the Princes eares, because on the negatiue part , it seemeth there are these reasons, as doubtlesse that this manifest fauour breedeth him great enuie with the other Courtiers, and how pernitious a thing that is , is very plaine, whereof wee mind to speake at large in due place : besides many informati ons are made vnto the Prince, whose author not being known, it is attributed vnto those, who often haue conference with him , whereupon followeth the hatred, not alone of those offend ed but of others who haue rea son to feare the like , beside the note of a malignant detractor. He creunto is added a waightie consideration, that in reasoning the Courtier vseth many or few words : if few, he doth not fit his
Lords

Lords intention, who many times gives him this acceſſe, for entertainment of the time which he desireth. In this case to walke too warily, besides that it makes a ſhew either of a ſeuerē or a diſembled nature, it gives no pleaſing guilt, but breeds a diſſidence; if many wordes, a prouident and wittie Prince, (such as we ſuppoſe the Prince worthie to bee ſerved by our Courtier inſtructed in this art) will eaſily ſee into his manners and affections, which happily with more profit might haue been concealed, nor can this be but very hardly holpen, because the Courtier being to make anſwer to demands, and to persist in his diſcourse, ſo long as it ſhal please the Prince, it is almoſt i[m]pōſſible to go ſo couerly to worke, that truth it ſelfe glides not,

any hot, or glanceth out sometime.
And surely as loue is a most
sweet torture, which often times
unlockes the cabinet of blosseth
secrets, wherupon they are wond-
to say that, *il caldo dell'uso, dilexit*
ma s'ouente il ghiaccio della tac-
rruita. The heat of the bed oft-
times doth thaw the ice of se-
crecie, which husbands should
in many things conceale: So
from a minde not well estab-
lished and made immoueable a-
gainst the windes of Countly
ambition, the pleasure of the
misters conference steales ma-
ny things from the seruant,
which to their greater profit
should haue beeene better kept.
But for all this there are on
the part affirmatiue, more liue-
ly reasons and of greater force,
because for certainty amongst
all the passages offered to the
Princes

Princes fauour, there is not one
of them, that by a more plaine
and easie way doth lead to our
desired end than this, because it
doth intrinsecate and make fa-
miliar, yet so far foorth as a mo-
dest seruant may bee with a re-
uerenced master: It giues fit oc-
casione & opportunity to beare
his humors and affections, and
to giue an earnest & taste of our
owne proper vertue and valor:
a thing not of small regard with
those who consider how many
are in Court who through want
of that commoditie to make
their talent known vnto their
Prince, keepe the same buried
in sterilitie. Besides the reputa-
tion which it brings is held inc-
estimable, not alone, because
making profit of the Princes
iudgement, hee cannot but
bee commended also, who is
thought

thought worthy his domeſtike
and familiar ſpeech. But yet
much more in this, that because
the Courtiers reputation conſi-
ſting in the fauor of the Prince,
which in reſpect of other fauors
we may terme *abilitie* and *power*
to pleafe others; it is moſt
cleere that this is chiefly ex-
pected from thoſe who haue li-
bertie of often conference, and
by conſequence fit times to pre-
ſent the petitions and requests
of other men.

But aboue all the reſt, moſe
eſtimable, is the facilitie which
groweth thereby, to diue and
ſound into the deepest thoughts
& affections of his Lord, and to
ſhew in himſelfe a disposition
and nature pliable and confor-
mable thereunto. To this pur-
poſe I muſt not leauē to note;
that for oftentimes in reaſoning

G and

and like conference, the quicke
and lively sharpnesse of the wit,
or else the dulnesse and pouerty
of spirit is discouered, it is a
most necessarie obseruance, to
marke and search of what kinde
that of the Princes is heerein,
because though it seeme verie
reasonable, that by how much
the more the officers are of spi-
rit, life and capable of euerie
command, by so much they
should bee more respected and
held more deare : yet shall you
finde some kind of Princes, that
as they will flie the extremity of
folly in followers, so are they
better pleased with a mediocri-
ty & indifference, then with this
singularitie and superexcellen-
cy. Mark what *Cornelius Tacitus*
speaketh of *Poppaeus Sabinus* : *Is
modicus originis principum amici-
tia consulatum ac triumphale de-*

cus

ens adeptus, maximisqne prouincijs per quatuor & viginti annos impositus, nullam, ob eximiam artem, sed quod par negotijs, neq; supererat. He was but of meane parentage, yet through the fauour of Princes, that is of *An-
gustus* and *Tiberius*, he obtained the honour of Consulship, and triumphed, being governour of many great prouinces for foure and twentie yeares, not for any great skill that abounded in him, hauing so much as was on- ly equall to his imployments, and no more. And this grow- eth either of feare, lest from these excellent wits some thing might be plotted against their government, or of shame to be vnder them in vertue, ouer whom they are in fortune, or lest their actions should bee censured and their affections

G 2 knowne,

knowen, though artificially shadowed: Or suspecting to want rewards answerable to their deserts and which might satisfy their expectation, knowing that high spirits, aime not at base and vulgar marks; Or (in fine) for some other hard and impenetrable cause. It is therefore manifest, that it behoueth the Courtier to be well aduised, and with circumspection to proceed and present himselfe with such maner of speech vnto the Prince, as he perceiuesth may please his humour; whereupon, confidence will easily succeed, by vertue and meanes whereof many imployments not belonging to his charge shall be conferred vpon him, and next by consequence, the chiefeſt ſecrets, according to the qualities which by little and little

little the Prince shall discouer
in him, and this is the way and
meanes to enlarge the confines
of his particular seruice in the
Court : next vnto the which
followeth in proportionable
course the possession of that fa-
vour, which with so great la-
bour is procured.

Therefore as this occasion is
greatly to be desired, so is it ne-
cessary to teach the meanes to
make vsle therof, which we will
diligently doe, when we shall
by answer haue cleared the dif-
ficulties on the contrary part set
downe in the beginning. To
the first therfore we say, that of
two euils it is good to auoide
the worst; wherefore the appa-
rent fauour of a Princes confe-
rence may breed envy, yet is
this much better, then by such
scruple or feare to lose the oc-
casione
G 3 casione

casion of greatest efficacy (that is, to insinuate himselfe into the *favour* of his lord) which a long and tedious course of seruitude can afford; besides that *multa experiendo fiunt, quae segnibus ardua videantur*: Many things by aduenture are brought to passe, which vnto the slothfull cowards doe seeme hard. And who well obserueth the courses of principalities and courts shall finde that true which *Tacitus*

Ann. 4. faith; *Domandi spes in arduo, ubi sis ingressus adesse studia & ministros*, Steps to soueraignety are hard, but once entred vpon, both fauourers, furtherers and followers are present, but especially & particularly vnto those who are not sorted onely with fortune and audacity, but guided & accompanied with iudgement and wisedome. Thus much

much we say when enuy cannot be conquered, vnto which purpose wee will heereafter give more necessary aduertizements. To that difficulty of hatred (of easie growth by the opinion of reports and bad offices)we say, that who will be friend to all, pleasing, and at least no apparent pretendor, gentle and officious, shall easily finde remedy against this conceit ; & particularly if he shall in effect abstaine from so hatefull an action, whereof in his due place we will abundantly speake. Next followeth the danger he may incur with the Prince in case of being too brief or too large in speech, wherein he must take counsell of nature, who is scarce and sparing of words vnto some, & vnto others too abundant and plentifull, aduising to correct

G 4 natures

natures defect by the helpe of art, giuing suppliment to want, & abatement to abundance, by a iudicious prescription, which in such like cases must bee the truest levell, and wherewith he must be fully fraught, who pretends to port himselfe in the chiefest harbour of his Princes fauour. But as touching the vnauided manifesting his defects or discouering some thing else that might be dangerous, we answer : this art is not set down to men of so slight a stiffe, that are not masters of their owne conceipts, and who cannot shelter or defend themselues (if at least they cannot auoid and hide the same) in such sort, as with silence to ouerpasse that which for their profit must bee kept in secrecie. But vnto such as must be apt to fincke into the inmost parts

parts of his Prince, by meane^s of things connext in one, or many speeches : forming vnto himselfe by vertue of them, certaine conclusions, the which if not demonstratiuely and by necessitie, yet at least by coniecture , and other obseruations taught before, may giue notice, what are his inclinements, pleasures, and cogitations; so that he may as well wisely detect his closest designes , as shunne the danger to bee detected by the Prince, although it cannot bee denied , the Commander to haue the aduantage in this espi- al and discouery, as he to whom it doth belong to interrogate, continue or to change discourse at pleasure : yet these things do not conclude, that to haue often accessse to speake with the Prince is not very profitable

G 5 and

and to bee desired by the Cour-
tier.

CHAP. XV.

*How many and what be the kinds
of speeches or discourses the
Courtier is to haue
with his Prince.*

SInce to speake generally in
matters of action is not so
profitable, as by so much as we
may to come vnto particulars ;
it is necessarie that we treat in
speciall of the kinds of speeches
which the Courtier may haue
with his Prince, and in euery of
them giue those aduertisements
which are fit profitably to passe
therin. But to do this, we must
first see how many & what these
kindes be, wherein not procee-
ding in a strict and philosophi-
call maner , but rather confor-
mable

mable to common capacity, the thing in my opinion will not be very hard. Wherefore without keeping so precisely the precepts of division (one of the hardest things in humane vnderstanding) wee will say, that wee talke or reason with the Prince, either for his pleasure and delight, to ouerpasse that time of leasure for recreation from the toils of ordinary affaires belonging to his state and calling, & these we call speeches of entertainment; or else our talke with him is limited to some end either of a thing done, or to bee done, and which belongeth to his honour, interest or state, and these we call conference of state. All others, if any such there be, are reduced vnder these two. Of the which, because those of State are most important, wee will

will handle them in the first place, and those of Entertainment afterwardes.

C H A P. XVI.

How to take opportunitie to induce a conference of state.

The first consideration is concerning the maner how to induce or begin these conferences, the which are either touching the Princes interest, or things which in some sort belongvnto the Courtiers charge; and will easily give an entrance to insinuation. But because every Prince, who for the variable multitude of his actions (wil haue as reason requireth, some order) is vsed to diuide his time, appointing to certaine houres settled imployments, this thing must bee most diligently obserued,

ued, for that doing otherwise,
besides the molestation hee
should give the Prince in consider-
ing of his course he shall re-
ceive many times but little sa-
tisfaction, and get the name of
Busie-bodie. And if the busynesse
haue no determinate and set
houre, it shall be good counsell
to reserue it vnto some of those
appointed for affaires, keeping
entire, so much as is possible, the
time of recreation, not onely
deare to euerie man by nature,
but specially necessarie vnto
those that with many toiles are
outer-wearied. But if the affaire
bee extraordinarie and of im-
port, hee may securely change
the course, and alter the ap-
pointed houres, withall (so the
matter bee not of such waight,
that it is needfull of the Princes
instant knowledge) wee must
give

give due space to those occasions, which either for healths sake, or safety of the life are fit to bee done, as times of diet, sleep or physike, to auoid infirmities as well of body as mind, wherein to negotiate is forbidden.

C H A P. XVII.

*What is to bee obserued in the
passing of this conference
of state.*

The conuenient and fit time with speciall consideration being taken, and the houre of negotiating being come, the circumspect servant, must either first, or in the very instant, or so soone as may be, by himselfe or by some other meances discouer the moode & humor, that the Prince is in, for all are

not

not of Tiberius mind, of whom Tacitus saith, *Negotia pro solatijs accipiebat, that tooke dispatches* for disports : and much lesse it may bee to finde him still in one minde , nor to haue the same motion to the same things. Wherfore discouering an indisposition to the busynesse, either by some affect of his minde or body, it is expedient to restraine the conference into as few termes as may bee, and to abridge the time , from being troublesome; for the ill disposition of the subiect with whom wee are to treat, is no lesse contrary to the happie successe of the busynesse, then is an vntimely houre: I vnderstand this of affaires which necessarilie must passe , and needs bee heard, because in others, whose scope and end are the benefit

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nefit or profit of our friends, or else containe some desired fauour, wee must of necessity awaite fandi molles aditus, easie entrances of speech, and therefore reserue them till there be a composed, quiet & settled mind willingly disposed to give audience, a thing which very seldom falleth out with some, who are so austere and sterne, that it is almost impossible ever to finde either fit houre or humor to con ferre with them. Such are men giuen to their pleasures & passe-times, besides the which they thinke on nothing else: and such are men cholerick by custom or by nature, in whom either age or practise in managing affaires hath not bred a gentler temper. But if the Prince bee well disposed, then must the Courtier endeuour himselfe that the busynesse

nesse whereof hee is to speake
(for somuch as belongeth vnto
him) bee aptly andcommenda-
bly set downe and handled. For
the knowledge whereof he shall
understand, that to negotiate
with a Prince, may consist either
in laying open or declaring
some fact or seruice done, to the
end he consider thereof as hee
thinkes good ; or manifesting
some busynesse, to the end to
receive order for the execution
and performance. And heerein
also is contained the fauours or
recompences which either for
himselfe or others are deman-
ded, and in the one or the other
the opening or concealing his
opinion ; or finally in declaring
the maner of execution and
performarce of some action,
which is commonly called a
Relatson. Wherfore in the re-
lating

lating any thing whatsoever we must first and chiefly haue regard to truth, aswell for the integrity, duty and faith due by euery honourable Courtier unto his Prince, as because hee may make a more commendable resolution, knowing that from false principles in good consequence a true conclusion is never gathered: next there is requisite *apparancy*, to ease the vnderstanding of the Prince, and lighten the burthen of the businesse and *brenity*: Not to keepe him troubled overlong hauing otherwise many diuertions of importance. Next in receiuing directions for the executing of any thing, either by himselfe or others, there is required not onely a diligent attention of the mind, rightly and presently to take the same, without

out necessity of repetition, because this, besides the trouble, would breed an opinion in the Prince, of incapacity, and withall a want of memory and retention, to performe the same answerable to the intent of the commandement.

But of all the rest, there is none of more import, than the charge to give aduice and shew his opinion vpon any thing:

Nam suadere principi quod oporteat, multis laboris, saith Tacitus, Lib. I.
his.
it is a hard taske to perswade a Prince to doe that bee ought. Whereupon it is necessarie to note not to deale therein but by command, when the bond of your office doth not require it, and howsoever it is fit to vse modesty, not to seeme too wise, and by all meanes possible to auoid obstinacy in your owne
conceipts

conceipts, especially against the opinion and judgement of the Prince. There is heerein required wisdom as the mother of all good counsel, and a demonstratiue inclination of loue towards him, to the end that with the more facility , he may receiue that which is propounded for your profit.

Lastly, in declaring things already executed you must vse *truth, plainenesse, & al that good Rhetoritians set downe to make a worthy narration.* But to all these things there are two most important aduertizements yet to be added; the first is *Secrecie*, because without that , in vaine is the Princes confidence procured, whose thoughts and intentions, by so much as is possible, must be kept concealed, as well for the inconueniences which

which may grow thereby, as
for your own reputation, which
will be so much the greater, as
these shall bee the more occult
and secret. The other is, not to
use too great curiosity, in di-
ving deeper into the Princes
thoughts, then is conuenient,
or hee thinks fit to reueale, re-
membering that, *abditos principis sensus, & si quid occulti insparat,*
exquirere, illicitum anceps. To be
busie in quest of Princes secret
thoughts, or what vnlawful drifts
they haue in hand, is both dan-
gerous and doubtfull. And for
certaine many haue erred heer-
in, whereof haue followed con-
trary effects to their desires,
because seeking by this meanes
to lincke and inward them-
selues more strictly, they haue
oftentimes as too nice and cu-
rious been excluded all waigh-
ty

ty affaires. And this is as much as I thinke fit to speake concerning *Conference of State*; now followeth that of *Entertainement*.

C H A P: XVIII.

How to induce conference of Entertainment.

BY how much these conferences seem least necessary, by so much the skill and art to profit by them is the more laborious, the which notwithstanding must bee exactly kept and put in practise for the benefit which followeth therof, because happily these open more the way to *Confidence*, than those of *State*. The reason is, because these being induced & brought in by choice and for pleasure, bring foorth many times by their

their continuance, such delight and sweetnesse to the Prince, that willingly hee riterates the same, and by little and little, laying aside Princely severity, begins by this familiarity to proportionate the Courtiers condition neerer to that of his state, and in time breeds a disposition to participate and impart vnto him many things, and so successiuely doth enable him to take knowledge of his most secret thoughts ; either hid from others, or onely knowne by reason of their offices , not by free election of good liking , and therefore it may be not so fully imparted.

Wherfore occasion of such conference with the Prince may rise, either of his owne nature, who will daine the familiaritie of his seruants, respectiuely in termes

termes and degrees to the one and other conuenient, or by some incident occasion, as time and place affoordeth many, or by the Courtiers qualities. And surely if the Prince be of nature conuersable with his seruants, the way to discourse and talke with him will bee plaine and needs no art at all : since either himself by demanding, recounting or propounding will offer occasion of entertainment. In these accidentall conferences there can no rule be giuen ; and that which in them is to bee aduertized, shall be noted in speaking of the occasions which the quality of the *Courtier* may offer, whereof wee will now begin to treat.

Since then these speeches are brought in for the pleasure and entertainment of the Prince, it is cleare,

cleare, that willingly he would
paſſe them with ciuill and well
speaking persons, full of nouel-
ties and pleasant deuices to am-
plifie and prolong a discourse.
To be young and conceited is a
gift of nature, which receiveth
little helpe by arte, howbeit man-
y haue attempted to giue pre-
cepts of vrbanity and merri-
ment. The disposition also and
ability of speaking well, is
brought likewise from the mo-
thers wombe, but therein with-
out all doubt Art hath a speciaſ ſhare, ſince that if by a glibbe
tongue and a hot temperature
of the braine well fraught with
natuſall conceits; there be ad-
ioyned a knowledge of many
things: the arte of apt & proper
speech ioined with that which
more importeth and helpeth
iudgement and discretion, with-

H out

out all difficultie he will proove commendable and excellent in discourse.

Nouckies are gotten by curiositie, and though with a learned Prince, doctrine and reading be great helpers therunto, he must not for all this, neglect the knowledge of such things as daily do occur, aswell within as without his dominions, so that the matter of these discourses may bee sufficiently ready at hand; because the disburdened Prince, allured by such like qualities will take occasion to discourse with him for the time he shall stand free from greater cares. But for that it is no lesse necessary to offer meat vnto the queasie and weake stomacks for natures sustenance, than to the hunger-starued mawe, and by deuice of artificiall smels and exquisite

exquisite delicacies, prouoke their appetites : the prouident Courtier, at noures most fit and time conuenient, be it either after meales, when not to hinder true concoction by withdrawing the vitall spirits from the stomack, it is oueruled by Phyficke, that for a while our minds have leauue to play, or at some other time when hee shall spie the Prince at leisure (to which purpose diligent attendance in the *presence* much importeth) hee must insinuate and mooue some of those things which hee shall find most apt to please his taste and giue delight; which if he once perceiue (by vacancy of greater thoughts) hee take well, then may he goe on safely and with dexterity glide from one thing to another as commonly is vsed in long talke. But

H 2 if

if there shall bee no disposition,
as quickly a nimble eied Cour-
tier will perceiue, noting his a-
ctions, bowed downe with
waughty thoughts, or silent not
willing to answer, or vsing bre-
vity to whats proposed; or else
(in sum) to chop off occasion,
cut off multiplicity of words,
then, bnsht, he must retire, and
look for better opportunity, or
more befitting humour in the
Prince, or seeke some accident
which oftentimes fals out, either
by some flying newes, or chan-
ces happening in the city, court
or other countries, which ei-
ther by their owne nature, or
some interest which hee may
haue in them may giue him tast
or moue him lend an eare to vn-
derstand what is discoursed
or variably thought
abroad.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

*The order that must be kept
in conferences of enter-
tainment.*

IT followeth that howsoeuer there bee an induction of these conferences, to aduertise the Courtier what hee is to obserue therein, to make profit by the same: wherefore we say, that the scope of these speeches is to please the Prince, the action is talke, hee must then by meanes of wordes and reasoning endeouour to entertaine & delight his Prince: and to speak generally, it is notorious, that pleasantnesse and iesting commonly are delightsome, though it bee true, that in this course there be danger of slipping into scurrilitie spurd forward by that vnbridled desire of ambition,

to see the Prince rest satisfied without delights ; which pernicious blocke by al meanes must bee remoued, by those whose aime is honour and reputation, because the profession of a Iester brings with it too base and ignoble estimation ; wherefore it is necessarie with great discretion to limit bounds vnto this merriment. Besides the report of news and occurrences which neither molest the minde, nor breed any trouble for any interested affection, there are other subiects very delightsome in these discourses & conferences, whereof the pleasure which they yeeld giues testimonie : which is not alone out of histories, but out of Poets and well digested fictions, which we see hearkened vnto and read with greedinesse. But because the condition

condition of humane nature is such, that wee are not all of one relish, or at all times in one mood (as wee haue oftentimes said) it importeth very much to know the Princes inclination, and more particularly his humour then predominant, when wee are to speake with him: to the knowledge whereof the accidents of that day, the matters handled, or the reports made vnto him, help very much, because it will be very easie to accommodate our talke vnto his taste, knowing that louers willingly talke of their loue (but this with a caution, that there bee no circumstance of diffidence or distrust which may remoue his minde from entrance into like discourse), souldiers of warres, the learned of letters, and the wrathfull of reuenge &

H 4 iniury

injurie, and so of the like naturall or incidentall qualities and humors in the Prince, because that doing thus, (but so that the cunning bee covert) himselfe will minister matter of discourse and be delighted to enlarge the same: yet must you vnderstand that these obseruations are meet in cases of recreation and pleasure, because in those of griefe and sorrow (besides that these were seruiceable for introduction) the minde afflicted would affoord more ease; for sorrow seemes to bee succoured by breathing foorth her woes. But you must herein devise with iudgement and dexterous regard, either how to diuert and turne these troubled thoughts of the Prince some other way, by application of things more pleasing, if at least you see him

not

not willing to persist therein, or else to give him some shew that you condole & haue a feeling of his sufferance, or by continuing it, if you see the Prince bee so pleased, because the power and will to prosecute, cut off, or change a speech vpon euery subiect and in euery case, is properly the Princes due, the *Courtier* being bound to second him and follow where his wil in conference shall lead the way; for otherwise there would follow contrary effects to his desires, it being very well knownen, that the minde doth no lesse abhor to reason of these things wherunto the will doth not incline, than to worke or execute any thing forced and against the will.

C H A P. XX.

Of praise and flattery.

AMONGST all the things that can be obserued to be pleasing vnto any man with whom we shall conferre, there is none of more efficacie or greater force than *Commendation* or *Praise*, whereof an excellent Greeke giues good testimonie, who being demaunded what communication of al other best pleased him, auerred with an asseueration, That which contained his commendations, whereof the *Courtier* must take notice to obserue the same euен till hee come to the confines of *Flattery*, framing to himselfe this maxime & assured rule, that *Commendations*, or in defect thereof as wanting matter praise-worthy

thy, an easie flatterie is necessarie to whomsoeuer serueth. And although in *Tacitus*, *Seneca Lib. 15.* saith, *Non sibi promptum in adulationes ingenium, sedque nulli magis gnarum quam Nerons, qui sapientis libertatem Seneca, quam servitum expertus esset:* He had no readie wit for flatterie, which no man better knew than Nero, who had had oftener triall of *Senecae libertie* than of his ser-
vitude in speech, it is but the te-
stimonie of no good Courtier, <sup>Seneca a
better Philo-
sopher than
Courtier.</sup>
neither in reason may we take it
for authoritie, his end making
it very manifest, that happily
he had not so great knowledge
in matters of philosophie, as he
wanted skill in the Courtiers art.
I meane not now that by an ab-
iect and base flatterie he should
insinuate himselfe into the Prin-
cessauor, since he must haue his
cic

eie alwaies fixed on the marke
he aimeth at , which is *credit*,
and *honourable reputation*, which
neuer ioyne in companie with
flatterie, wherein *faith Tacitus*,
turpe crimen seruitutis inest, there
is the foule sinne of seritude.
But it is necessary to walke vpon
such paths, as hardly will bee
found by him who takes not for
his guide before he enters in, a
grounded* iudgement to dis-
course on them. Wherefore I
thinke it worth the while, and
not superfluous to speake some
thing of this matter for the full
instructions of our *Courtier*; yet
because we can discourse of no-
thing, nor giue rules, if first wee
know not what our subiect is,
we hold it fit to begin vpon this
ground, saying, that *Adulation*
generally is an honour, which ei-
ther deseruedly or undeseruedly is
giuen

Plattery
what.

given by the inferior unto the superior, to the end to please him for his owne benefit or interest. And this for the present shall bee the definition, the which wee leauē to examine as not proper to this place, and only tie the consideration to our purpose : wee say also that commendations or praise is an honour done with wordes, and vnder this kinde flatterie is contained, whereof we must speake in this place, supposing it to be a false praise amplified, to the end aforesaid, the which because it is little to purpose in this our treatise, we will heere serue our turnes only with the first part, wherein the most inward and essentiaill nature thereof is contained, that is, that it is a Commendation : then will wee examine the differences, which are false or amplified.

Insomuch

In somuch then as it is *Praise* or *Commendation*, it is necessary that it fall vpon some good part in the Prince, since the obiect of *praise* is good parts. The good parts (because it is now no time to play the Phylosopher) wee say are of three sorts, of the minde, the body, and the externall. The good parts of the minde are virtue and the naturall powers and faculties, because we doe not onely praise temperance, fortitude, liberalitie, &c. but a pregnant and quicke understanding, a vigilant and prouident minde; and because these are sometimes the effici-ent cause, or cause conseruant of the outward parts, it followeth that praising the externall parts wee commend also the causes of them. But to conclude, the principall commendations and

and most of all to be desired, is that of the vertues of the mind : true it is that these are not of all men alike prised and esteemed, there being many who had rather be commended for wealth, power and honour , than for wisedome , magnanimity and beneficence; nay there be some so blind of vnderstanding, that had rather be accompted faire, comely, agile and gallant of body, than more or as learned as Aristotle, or eloquent as Cicero; and who doubteth but that it was more gratefull and pleasing to Nero the praise of his singing than whatsoeuer other commendation either of temperance , modesty or justice? And questionlesse if any man should take vpon him to adde vnto the female sex, all those commendations and applauses,

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ses, that pleasing eloquence could figure or paint out, but would abate their beauty out of it, I thinke there is none but knowes, how welcome and how gratefull such honor should be to any woman. Wheretore though the true and reall commendations is principally to be attributed to the aboue named good parts, it is notwithstanding very necessary, if the courtier will commend with profit & to be pleasing, that he praise that whereunto he sees the Prince most inclined and best to satisfie himselfe, vrging this as a thing of most speciall importance, aiding himselfe, with the knowledge of his nature, custome and inclination.

There is yet an other aduertisement of great consequence, for the better vnderstanding whereof

whereof we say thus, that it is cleere, praise and commendation is naturally desired of euer
ry man, the reason is, because there is in all men an innated
desire of perfection, the which not alone in it selfe is most ac-
ceptable and gratafull, but with a particular pleasure makes those things to bee receiued which give testimony thereof, no otherwise, thā as we see, that the comming to passe of such things which we haue longing-
ly desired, not only to be plea-
sing vnto vs, but withall, euē the messenger of such newes is very acceptable, and oftentimes munificently rewarded for his tidings : and therefore by the same reason whosoeuer com-
mendeth vs, as a witnesse of our perfection, is beloued of vs. But as in all ratifications false testi-
monies

monies are by vs greatly hated, in like manner are vntre commendours, who once knownen for such, doe highly displease vs, because we seeme not to receiue commendations or testimony of any perfection, which we know to be farre from vs, but rather an upbraiding that wee are not such as they would make vs seeme to bee; besides the deformity of the falsehood which is discouered in them, whereupon we gather the small confidence that wee may give vnto them in any other thing, as false and mendacious, besides the disgrace they fall into, as base and vulgar persons. Of all this thus much may be gathered, that we must not only be considerate in cōmending, nor to incur suspition of falsehood, but withall that it is

is not alwaies true that *Galba* is reported to say in *Tacitus*, that,
adulatio erga Principem quemcumque sine affectu peragitur.

Lib. I.
hist.

Flattery or assentation to what Prince souuer, is done without affect. Wherfore we say, that the commendations being to bee credited, it is necessary to ground the same vpon some vertue or good part really and in trueth existing in the Prince, or at least in opinion thought to be in him, and what commendable parts are in the prince hee may easily know, who hath that notice of him, as we suppose the *Courtier* should haue: but of which of them the Prince makes most esteeme, must by obseruance bee learned, noting, that for the most part we thinke our selues best indued with those things whereof we make

make profession; the musitian, of singing well, the Philosopher of the perfect knowledge of naturall causes, the Souldier of the arte of warre; wherein being praised we easily beleue it, & willingly accept it. Those which are proper to a Prince, art, wisedome, iustice, magnificence, riches, power, glory, and such like vertues, and qualities belonging to a person of so high degree, from whence groweth an affect, which wee call veneration, which doth meet or encounter his perfectiōn, and is as a testimony (as wee have said of praise, and should say of all honour) of the goodparts which we esteem to be in him; the which testimony by how much it is giuen in greatnessse, by so much is it thought his abilities and qualities

ties doe exceed. Of this kinde
is that of *Seianus*, when he saith, *Lib. 4.*
Se ita insuetissime, ut spes, voragine Ann.
sua non prius ad Deos quam ad
principum auros conferret: The
great signes and expectation
of *Tiberium*, had framed such a
custome in him, that he would
not sooner offer vp his hopes
and vowes to the gods, than
vnto the eares of Princes, the
which adulation could not with
more cunning haue beene set
downe, because hee doth not
only compare, but preferres his
Prince before the gods in a
thing easily to be credited: and
so shewing that which is too
common in experience, that
there bee some so affectionate
& deuote in their Princes ser-
vice, that forgetting their due
recourse to God, lay the whole
burden of their hopes vpon
the

the fauour of their Lord.

But because whathath beene
said hitherto, consisteth in the
credit and testimony that the
person of the Prince and his
vertues or good parts do yeeld,
we must no lesse consider how
to draw some beleefe and trust
from the person of the Courtier:
and surely there is faith gi-
uen to such whom wee take to
bee of a free and open nature
and who make shew of that in
speech which is within the in-
closure of their heart. This o-
pinion is particularly gotten
by reprehending, for whosoe-
uer falsely commendeth, doth
it (as we haue said) for his owne
profit; but who freely reproo-
ueth, sheweth he hath no minde
of other respect or interest, nei-
ther will by cutting fauour giue
place a iot from his true mea-
ning.

ning. Wherefore an ingenuous and free reprehension is alwaies accompanied with credit & authority. Tis true that in this particular we must remember this *maxime*, which saith, *Quando pessimis Imperatoribus sua sine dominationem, ita quamvis eorum modum liberasse placere.* As an eueralting rule is pleasing euен to the woorst Emperours, so doth a modest kind of liberty in reprehension please the greatest, because if the Courtier passe those bounds in reproouing, hee may easilie conjecture, what effects would follow a serious speech that biteith. *Si facetia ubi multum ex vero traxere, acrem sui memoriām relinquunt : If ielt when they cary much truth with them do leauue a bitter memory.* Hee must therefore dispraise in a sup-

*Tac. lib.
4. his.*

*Lib. 15.
Ann.*

portable maner , and that may
seeme rather a kind of praise,
than a iudicious censure : which
thing woorthy of speciall obser-
uation is done, not in reproving
vices , but the excesse of some
virtue , yet with this aduertize-
ment, not to expresse or name
the excesse, by those extremes
which otherwise indeed are vi-
ces, and prejudicall to others,
but by those termes only which
are damageable to the agent,
with the profit of others. As for
example, it is a vertue to be ac-
cessible and willing to giue au-
dience, and not easily wearied in
dispatches ; if then one should
say vnto the Prince, that through
too vehement a desire to satisfie
others , hee ouerchargeth him-
selfe both in mind and body to
the prejudice of his health wher-
of he hath no due respect ; hee
should

should reprove him with a kind of flattery. Sobriety and temperate abstinence is commendable ; who now would shew that he offendeth in being too strict in dangering his health, should smoothly admonish him, and worke two notable effects, one, that by the reproofe he gaineth credit, the other that he discouers an affection and interest in the Princes health: But these obseruations cannot bee put in practise but by a witty, prouident and wise Courtier, who if sometimes with an expression or shew of griefe, or a light anger he ioin these admonishments it will greatly increase his credit, because such affections of freedome and plainnesse would wholly remooue and extinguish all suspition of dissimulation, whereunto also will adde

I very

very much the auoiding of all affectation, and shunning this decorum and seeming-wise-granuitie, in your reprehensions. But above all, the most assured way to settle and gaine credit, is alwaies and in all your actions to shew your selfe such as you pretend, that the Prince may haue this conceit of you, that you are an ingenuous, free, and plaine man. And this is so much as I hold may be obserued in *praise* and *flatterie*, adding this as a note, that true praise when there is matter and subiect for it, is to be preferred, and in defect or want therof, to haue immediate recourse to adulation or flatterie, the which consisteth in a little amplifying or enlarging, and is not altogether disioyned from perfect commendations: But when there is no matter

at

at all to worke on, it is lawfull to helpe your selfe with that kinde which makes an attribute of some good parts where none are, yet with that caution and circumspection which wee before haue signified.

C H A P. XXI.
*Of the soundings and trials which
Princes sometimes use with
their Courtiers.*

Sy ch is the maner then to praise, and such the rule to temper your conference vnto the Princes taste, the which by often giuing occasion therof, opens the passage to make a large progresse into his fauour, for that the speech being a speciaall testimonie of our other vertues and abilities, if happily he take a pleasure in talking with

I 2 his

his Courtier, and finde sufficiencie and aptnesse in him of performance of such things which doe concerne him neere, it is not vnlikely but hee may employ him in the same, whereby he may obteine some extraordinarie grace, because some time such seruices are committed, which cause a full possession of an entire confidence; and such particularly are the excesses or extremes of some affections: As of *ambition* in procuring some high degree of honour; or of *conceit*, gaping after gaine, or of *wrath*, thirsting for immoderate reuenge, or of *lust*, longing impatiently for the fruition thereof: And these I note but for the present, as principall affections and passions, in the which who is imploied may without great difficultie

difficultie ouerrule & triumph
in the fauour of his Prince. But
this falleth out most commonly
in some amorous motion, that
is, because this affection straying
farther then any other, from
the pathway of reason, of ne-
cessitie there riseth more exor-
bitant accidents, either because
they are more potent in disturb-
ing, whereby with a greater ar-
dencie the obiect is desired: or
because seldom it falleth out, that
the pleasure & possession of the
partie beloued, can be obtained
without some actions, which
disrobing the Prince of decency
and decorum, make him fashi-
on himselfe to the condition of
the Courtier, in such sort that
there followeth a familiaritie as
betweene equals. And true it is,
that these performances not fal-
ling vnder the bond o f serui-

I 3 tude,

tude, and there following necessarily an election or choice, they are not sleightly committed as the other seruices which are ordinarie and of dutie, but with a carefull regard & a precedent knowledge of the intention, which the Courtier hath to performe and execute the same: whereupon the circumspect Prince finding him an apt instrument for his desire, resolving to lay the burden of the businesse on his confidence, will proue and feele by conference, if hee commanding shall finde him ready and obsequious: and this is done by some with more, by some with lesse aduisednesse, according to the iudgement & dexteritie of the agent, whereupon it followeth, that having these emploiments, it is a most easie, and an assued entry into the

the possession of desired grace : It is also very necessary iudiciously to enable your selfe to vnderstand his very signes and beckes (things which arte can-
not instruct without a naturall
perceuerance) and those con-
ceaued , to make that profit of
them that belongeth . But be-
cause Princes many times speak
not that sincerely nor frō with-
in, which outwardly in talk they
make a shew of , but rather to
sound and vndermine the na-
ture and qualitie of their ser-
uants, make their triall by seuer-
rall meanes ; it is a thing of spe-
ciall note therefore, to be heere
in well aduised, and able to per-
ceiue when the Prince reason-
eth sincerely , & when couertly,
for the better knowledge wher-
of I hold the discourse follow-
ing not vnprofitable .

C H A P. XXII.

*Meanes how to distinguish and
come to the knowledge
of these trials.*

If these assaies shall be made by Princes of small experience, it will bee no great labour for the Courtier to discouer them, but because wee haue presupposed he is to deale with a person circumspect and cauetous, we say, that the first difficultie is, to haue a feeling that he is felt, or rather to vnderstand and peize the full waight and meaning of euery word the Prince shall speake , it being cleere , that discourses to this end, will passe vailed vnder figuratiue and ambiguous speeches, not much vnlike to *Ora-
cles*, concluding with such ob-
scuritie

scuritie and clowdinesse, that the disciphering and conceit of them wil be very difficult to him whom nature hath not giuen a wit more pregnant, sharpe and prouident, than to the ordinarie. Wherefore this first point falls out within the compasse of our arte, because to be heedy & watchfull, is not a thing that precepts can affoord, if nature list not to be bountifull. But vnderstanding the force of the wordes, and perceiving this treaty is but to tempt, Art herein may yeeld great help, in discouery betweene a true and fained triall, that is, which of them the Prince doth to the end to vse the Courtiers helpe therein, if happily he accept the charge, and which of them, but for discouerie of his inclinations and affections.

First therfore when the Prince purposeth but to feele or vndermine , his desire is onely the knowledge of the Courtiers intentions, whereupon because he hath the greater interest, he doth it with the more regard and lesse feare , but hauing a minde actually to command and impose some charge from which the Courtier may per chance retire himselfe, hee tries him then more bashfully and more warily : hecreof it follows that these *Sonnings* are made with more circumspection and more obscuritie, so that not finding the foord pasable , it shall be in the Princes power to step backe without danger of discouerie. The other *Vnderminings* which are vndertaken by disimulation, & falsly, are only done to winne the knowledge of the
Courtiers

Courtiers nature, albeit they are no lesse by a wise Prince to be handled with great dexteritie & arte ; yet because the impulsive cause bindes not so much, they are done somewhat more plainlie. This is then a probable signe how to distinguish of like *soundings or trials.*

But who would doe it yet more exactly , it is necessary he consider foure things , that is, the *nature and inclination* of the Prince, the *quality* of the thing, whereof the taste is giuen, the *present occasion* in respect of the Prince , and the *actions* by himselfe committed in that Court. How to come to the Princes nature and *inclination* (vnlesse I be deceiued) hath sufficiently in his place beeene declared before. To vnderstand the *qualtie* of the thing, cannot bee of that

that difficulty , that there should neede many precepts, and lesse doth it belong to this arte to set them down, but thus much may be said, that the nature and quality of the thing being perfectly knownen , wee must conferre the same with the propensity and inclination of the Prince, meditating whether any such disposition may in any likely-hood, ingender in him such a cogitation or desire of the same or such like thing. For example , who knowing the nature of the Prince to bee sterne , seuere, temperatly giuen to his affairs, abhorring & detesting lasciuious pleasures, should finde him make a triall in motion , of amorous thoughts and passions of loue; might well suspect this motion to bee false , for that comparing

comparing the cause with the nature of the Prince, he should not finde that sympathetic or correspondence that belongs. Howbeit to this consideration, it were fit to ioyne that of accidents or occasions, because many times a naturall disposition by some euent or other chance, may be so changed, that who hath not speciall regard thereunto shall often be deceived: as if to a Prince of a quiet pleasing nature, forgetfull of wrongs, there were some notable iniury offered whereby hee should bee much ingaged or stained in reputation; if hee should not by his best indeuours procure reuenge, or were it for some other speciall cause he must put on reuenge; hee should bee mightily deceived, who either not knowing, or
not

not aduertising such accidents should ground his judgement only in cōparing of the thing, that is, *revenge*, with the nature of the Prince : Wherefore the knowledge of occasions and of accidents which intercur, is very necessary for distinction of these feeling motions. And this may be obtained by a curious obseruation , the which (leaving as impertinent to search the secrets of his Prince) as a most profitable quality is highly to bee commended in the Courtier , for by knowing many things ; he shall with the more facility take the better resolutions in many cases. And therefore we may not let slip in his fit place to set downe the meanes how with ease to come to the knowledge of all that is done and said in Court:

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The consideration of the *Courtiers proper actions*, is also no lesse needfull in this distinction, for that either they are such, as easily discouer his inward affections and naturall inclinations, & are taken as open and free, or else such as giue a shew of dissimulation, and seeme not of themselues sufficient to discouer his intentions. Who then hath shewed himselfe free and plaine, hath no reason to suspect that he is feare or vndermined, for his minde or dispositions sake already presupposed to bee knownen by his actions ; but rather to finde how he is inclined in the acceptance or refusall of the execution of that charge which may be imposed vpon him. On the other side, who hath carried himselfe circumspectly, hath
more

more reason to beleue that the Prince doth sound him, to finde the depth of his conceits and humour ; yet heere we may not let to say , but that these plaine and open Courtiers may be ta- sted too, either in things wher- in they are already known as in- clining and disposed, or in their contraries. In those then wher- in their disposition is already knowen , it is most true , these trials cannot be for their disco- uery, but it may well fall out in that which is the contrary , be- cause though it seeme very pro- bable, that the contrary dispo- sition takes away all confidence to receiue any benefit by their seruice, notwithstanding, who is in a longing desire, vseth by all circumstances to giue his hope an easie paſſage not to finde a contradiction; and to conclude,

conclude , in the selfe same things may false alarmes and trials be made. For our minde being so full of lurking corners, a man can neuer so well assure himselfe of anothers outward thoughts , that some scruple or ambiguitie will not still remain. But here we must make a distinction , because things openly professed,are either commendable or wicked : if they be bad, tis plaine, that for such we must take the disposition of the courtier that professeth them, as his actions shew for ; for he should be too great an *ignorant* , who hauing a vertuous bent and disposition, would maske it with a shew of vice and wickednesse, neither doth ciuill custome suffer it , as our *Moralists* report, who make it lawfull to the Artizans and Mechanists to doe their

their worke by arte or without arte. But the Artificer of manners (if we may terme it so) must neuer chuse to doe any thing contrary to vertue; for otherwise he should neuer commendably be fashioned. Wherefore who openly makes shew to be enclined well, shall neuer falsly be attempted in his owne profession: yet those which do but give a taste therof (as hath been sayd) may looke for triall now or then.

C H A P: XXIII.

What the Courtier is to do, knowing and perceiving these soundings or trials.

A fter the warie Courtier shall haue conceiued that the Princes conference was on- ly induced but to feele his pulse, or

or bring him to the crucible of his triall ; and next , whether this proofe be really made to make some vse of him, or but to see of what mettle he is made : it resteth to set downe how hee is to gouerne himselfe fruitfully to make profit of such occasion offered. Wee say then, that by what already hath bene said, it is well knownen to what actions the Courtiers dutie bindes him , what actions are not contained within the same , & what are directly contrary vnto his duty. Wherfore ioyning heereunto another distinction , that is, of *false* or *true* trials, we may say, that if these trials be knowne for *false* , falling vpon things contrary vnto duty in that kind which may distaine his honour, there is no doubt but resolutely and without feare of offence he may

may give the repulse, denying that which with his honour hee can not grant vnto , and which hee knoweth not if seriooslie motioned or desired , or rather it should be much to the purpose, to shew a mind abhorring all such thoughts. But this is when you know you are to deale with a Prince vertuously addicted : for if otherwise, you might put in practise the rule before let downe, of fitting your selfe vnto the Princes humour, shewing your selfe either artificially or truely to be like vnto him. And this may you doe in all things when these attempts shall be made for discouerie of your fashions onely ; sith there growing no effect or action thereupon , there will be no danger of impeachment in honour : and besides , you shall notably

notably gaine the beneuolence
and fauour of the Prince by this
conformity of thoughts and in-
clination. But here riseth a dif-
ficultie, whereunto necessarilie
consideration must be had , for
discouering a disposition like
vnto that of the Prince, even in
matters of small commendati-
ons; if it shall giue an occasion
of hope, that the Prince resol-
uing to vse the helpe of the
Courtier , hee might easily ob-
teine the same , a thing which
following , in effect blotteth
and staineth the authour of the
worke, and denying it moves a
disdaine in the Commander ;
and so much the greater, per-
ceiuing himselfe deceiued by
the Courtiers false dissembling
speech. On the other side , to
shew himselfe farre from the
humour of the Prince , is not
answerable

answerable to that discretion
which hath beene said, must be
vsed therein, for the better ob-
teining of his fauour: wherfore
it seemeth best to keepe the
middle path, neither to disco-
uer too great a woonder, or
too great a nicenesse of those
thoughts which we shall know
in the Prince, either by naturall
inclination or by accident; and
no lesse altogether to seeme so
pliable and conformable (parti-
cularly in those which are awai-
ted on with little credit) as to
giue him hope to find the Cour-
tier at his pleasure, to be his in-
strument in them, although in
some things which are repug-
nant to his proper benefit, or
not comprized in the seruice
belonging to a Courtier, hee
must shew himselfe most ready,
and more desirous of the Prin-
ces

ces satisfaction , than whatsoeuer profit of his owne. But if the feeling motion be sincerely made to vse the *Courtier* as a minister in some thing, wherein he is not compelled to discouer his own nature and inclination, but only his will and agreement to the command , hee must in this also distinguish the matter and the subiect ; for if the command light on commendable actions , although they be not within the limits of his duetie, but merely contrary vnto his profit , he must offer himselfe most prone and willing, remembraunce that by how much his duetie extends but vnto pettie things , by so much the more shall he oblige the Prince to be answerable in loue and affection, since bounden-duties passe but for paiment, but services
not

not due, haue place of benefit, of the which , all men know which is more acceptable. But all the difficulty consisteth in the resolution of that which ought to be done , when these soundings are in dishonorable things , or periudicall to the marke or scope the Courtier chiefly aimeth at,in which case there is more lost by the performance , than can be got by honest seruice of long time , and who pulles backe his aide and helpe heerein loseth the confidence and fauour of the Prince, it being cleere , that *graniorum scelerum* , non modo ministri , as Tacitus saith , sed etiam conscijs , tanquam exprobrantes aspiciuntur : Not onely the actors of great wickednesse, but such as were but made acquainted therewithall , are looked on as upbraiders

Lib.14.

Ann.4.

vpbraiders of the same, and that especially when they shall deny their helpe , in the execution whereof wee may say heerein, that if there be not an error in the election of the Prince at first, this difficulty will not happen, because seruing of a vertuous lord there is no cause to feare commandements leaning to dishonesty. But yet when either by the foresaid error , or by other accident , you shall finde your selfe in so doubtfull a case of counsell ; then must the honorable Courtier by force of the obstinate anchor of vertuous purposes , resist the blasts of his Princes bad perswasions or commands , considering, that, by obeying him, his assured losse should far exceed the estimate of any gaine, which hec might looke for by his

K grace:

grace : yet will I not leaue to giue aduertisment here, that in this iudgement of the actions which may seeme contrary to his purpose , or hurtfull , or of small reputation , the Courtier must not with too seuere a cen- sure or a piercing eie examine or behold the same, since many things are permitted and suffe- rable vnder the necessity of ser- vice, so that they are not tainted with that turpitude or ill, being not performed by a free and willing choice , or at least , not with more then easly may bee walg away , by the greatnessse of the benefits , which by the Princes fauour are many times obtained : whereby it is cleere, these scrupulous & nice Cour- tiers can neuer procure confi- dence, sith he merits no fauor, that is so much friend to his owne

owne commodity, that he will not at least breake a little of the stocke, but after a most miserable rate, will spend no more then meere necessity constraines him too. To conclude, I must say that all sinnes are not mortall, and that to the dutie of seruice so much is pardonable, as may for the pleasure and service of his Prince bee done in some things, if not honorable, at least without such note of infamy, as in a person at full liberty could not be born out without passing censure or incurring blame. Which thefts, cannot particularly be pointed at, but the iudicious Courtier by himselfe may well conceiue them, and chiefly since the worthinesse and waight of all actions consisteth in the verdict and opinion of men. So

K 2 that

that by what is commonly blamed in other which doe serue, either for denying with too great severity, or too too gently granting and assenting to the prince he may easily know what arts of seruice are truely to bee denied, and wherin securely he may please and giue satisfaction to his Lord. But when they are vnbeseeming and vnsit to be put in practise, whosoeuer doth more esteeme his honour and reputation, (before the which (vertue excepted) there is nothing amongst men more estimable) than his Princes fauour, ought, at least, if not stoutly and boldly, yet reseruing termes of modesty and regard due betweene parties of vnequality, deny to be actor or minister therein, annexing to this deniall notwithstanding

ding all obsequious and humble duty that words can afford for iust excuse , to smooth and sweeten as much as may be, the bitterneſſe which commonly doth follow ſuch repulſes , reſolving firmly in his mind, that for what ſoeuer hope of benefit, to ſtand immoueable in his commendable purpose, to doe or act nothing that may be prejudicall or ſtaine to his reputa-
tion, hoping rather that this might finde ſuch force in the Princes minde , of a well incli-
ned nature , a magnanimous &
generous ſpirit , that even ina-
moured with the approoued
goodneſſe of his *Courtier* , hee
will fashion him vnto his loue,
and that which ſhould haue
beene a cauſe of hate may bee
the begining of good will and
fauour; a thing which though

K 3 rarely

rarely happening, yet is it pos-
sible, and sometimes comes to
passe. Yet if this repulse take
his true and usuall course, so
that the Prince indeede con-
ceue a hatred against the cour-
tier, either because hee found
him not resolute and prompt in
that seruice, as he expected, or
for knowing of it better then
himselfe, & so by consequence
more worthy of h.s fortunes
or his place, or else as hath been
said before, because *principiorum*
facinorum non solum ministri, sed
etiam conscijs quasi exprobrauites
aspiciuntur. Then he perceiving
the Princes slight regard and
little fauour, it should be fit
to take such course for re-
medy, as we heereafter
in such cases shall
set downe.

CHAP. XXIIII.

*Of the subsidiary aids and meaneſ
to obteine the Princes
fauour.*

Hitherto hath beeſe decla-
red, as I ſuppoſe, ſo muſh
as a prouident, carefull & wiſe
Courtier may worke of him-
ſelfe, to the end to obteine his
Princes fauour. And ſurely, if
he ſhall obſerue theſe precepts,
feafoneda with that diſcretion
which the effecting of an enter-
prise (for many reſpects) ſo diſ-
ſicult and laborious doth re-
quire, it ſhould be muſh and
very ſtrange, if he procure not
what he hath propoſed, ſince
this alone and none other ſee-
meth the beaten way, which
moſt ſecurely will leade vs to
the poſſeſſion of anotherſ fa-
uour, the which yet if it ſhould

K 4 be

be thought impregnable and invincible by our proper forces, it is necessarie to call in aid vnto this assault, some voluntarie succours, seeking to procure that victorie by others meanes, which by our owne labor hardly we could have purchased, to the end we let slip no meanes, or leaue any thing vnattempted which may seeme profitable any wayes vnto our purpose. Who therefore by himselfe can not attaine his Princes fauour, let him procure it by some other aids: but it is requisit that these stand graced with the Prince. Wherefore there are three sorts of persons who seeme apt vnto this vse; the Princes *kindred*, his *friends*, his *fauoured seruants*. Of all these we must distinctlie speake apart, to the end the profit may be knownen, that may be drawen

drawen from them, and what aduertisements are fit to be obserued, that his labor may fruitfully be employed, and bring forth that effect which is desired, it being notorious, that all things (saue vertue only) may be either well or ill vsed; wherfore it is needfull to be skilfull in the arte and vse of euery one, so that they may be vsed conformable to that our chiefeſt scope doth moſt require. It muſt not therfore be thought ſuperfluouſ to entreat of the meanes or helps, because in the practiſe there do occurre many things worthy ſpeciall conſideration, which being vñknowen, their aid ſhould be to ſmall profit, or greater detriment of the Courtier which ſhall vſe them: And because the iſtrument of greatest force and efficacie, in

K 5 all.

all reason, is that of the *kindred*, as most neere vnto the Prince both by the law of God & Nature; in the second place is that of *friends*, and in the last, the *Courtiers* or *faououred seruants*: in the same ranke wee will treat of them, beginning with the *kindred* first.

C H A P. XXV.

*Of the helpe which may be drawen
from the Princes kindred for
procurement of his
faavour.*

IT is a work of nature not on-
ly to love those vnto whom
by neerenesse of bloud she hath
conioned vs, but those with-
all who are by them beloved;
wherefore if the Prince by this
disposition bee not induced to
entertaine the Courtier into his
seruice,

seruice, at least the fauour of these kindred may giue occasion thereof, who vsing him in affaires which happely they haue in cōmon with the Prince, may by little and little insinuate and promote him into his seruice, or finally they may prefer him by intercession and mediation, which iustly may be held of so much efficacie as the condition of the party requiring the same is thought of worth, wherby the Courtier oftentimes in verie short space attaines to that which by a long course of seruice by himselfe he should hardly procure: besides to bee sheltered vnder the fauor of the kindred is a cause of his speciall reputation in the Court, through the abilitie hee may haue by meaneſ of them to hurt his enemies, and helpe his friends and confi-

confidents. This then is profit, which by the fauour of the Princes kindred, may with great likelihood bee expected. But because so it hath pleased God almost in all things to make an intermixture of the good with the badde, and of profit with his contrarie, that he might bee the more commendable, who with discretion can make a difference, or wisely make his choice, wee must heerein consider some things, the which either neglected or not aduerted may turne to the great preiudice of the Courtier. Wee saie then that the Princes kindred are either men or women, and both the one and the other are either yoong or of competent age: As for the women if they be of tender and fresh yeeres, by familiarity with them first grow-

eth

eth suspition, which of it selfe
were cause sufficient of the
Courtiers overthrow, and chiefly
by the occasion, which is
offred to the enuious to misin-
terpret actions in so perillous a
matter, and by suggestions still
to giue greater cause of doubt.
Besides this (howbeit, I presup-
pose the Courtier of honorable
carriage, and friend to *right*, and
therefore well resolued in him-
selfe) if wee must abstaine from
other mens wiues or women, it
is much more required towards
those who are naturally conioi-
ned to the Prince in bloud; yet
for all this, experience maketh
it too plaine, that euен the most
austerely minded, & most firme
and strongly settled in their
purposes, haue oftentimes gi-
uen place to the enticements of
alluring occasions: and surely
he

he who knowes not how much the practises of a beautious Dame may entender and mollifie the hardened minde of a man not yet surcharged with maturitie, giues signe of little knowledge in the worldes affaires, chiefly adding to natural inclination, a little spurre of ambitious vanitie, seeing also that a man may easily bee enticed by the occasion that fortune gives, so neerely to intrinsecate himselfe with persons so farre aboue the reach of his condition, to strengthen and vnite the hopes which happely by such like meanes they may conceaue; as we see in *Seianus*, who by the entrie and opportunitie which the familiaritie of *Drusus* wife gaue him, grew so confident to plot the death of the innocent husband, how to obteine her to his

his wife , and to be successor in
in the Empire of *Rome*, things
which most easily, though most
wickedly , fall in imagination ,
but most especiall where the
woman may be the instrument ,
whose honour once obtained ,
all things elseare easily entrea-
ted; for *Tacitus* saith wel, *Fæmi-* Lib.4. X
na amissa pudicitia alia non abnu- Ann.
erit. But on the other side , al-
beit men should have their
mindes well fortified with con-
tinencie , so that in themselues ,
as of their proper motion there
were no feare , (though they as
armed with such weapons , may
lawfully presume some thing of
their valor) the occasions which
by the women themselues are
offered, and the necessity which
many times they do impose are
specially to be considered ; the
examples are infinite , but that
of

of Silius in Tacitus, who was so farre beyond all bonds compeld by the vnbriddled & headstrong lust of Messalina, that in the end he was enforced to take her to wife, almost vnder the nose of her husband Claudius the Emperor, may serue as manifest enough in my conceit for a sufficient document and warning vnto others. But if through age there shall be such a ripenesse, so that there be no cause of feare in that behalfe, their fauour then in reason is much to be esteemed, considering how profitable vnto infinite the protection and authoritie of Livia was, with Augustus and Tiberius both.

Now as concerning the mankind; if they be of yong yeers, and subiect to the errors which the heat of youth and vnexperience

riency of manie things doth bring with it , it is not amisse to abstaine from conuersing with them, or at least not ouermuch; for if they performe any thing iudiciously and praiseworthie, it is attributed to the good disposition of their nature , and euer y one (a common accident to those of high degree, and Fortunes fauourites) applaud and giue the praise alone to them : but if they chance to slip awrie or erre in any thing, stepping aside, as yoong men are accustomed, presently the blame is laid either on the badde example or corrupt counsell of such as were most neere to them in conuersation and familiaritie : and this is the damage and the danger both. The profit on the other side is of no great consequence, because , through want of yeers
they

they neither haue knowledge, and lesse authoritie, to doe any fauour, or rather they dare not, especially in matters of any moment, naturally a kinde of bashfulnesse ouer-ruling youth, with a reuerence vnto their elders and to their betters, that in their presence scarcely they will moue their lips, or finde their tongue: and this wee see in practise amongst yoong nephewes and yoonger brethren, but chiefly with the children themselues, and most of all, if the Prince their father be by nature feuere and sterne.

Wherfore it followeth, that the grace of the *male kindred* of riper yeeres is truely profitable, because these by their loue (which is presupposed) ioyned with their age, know how; & by their authoritie can be benefici-
all

all and fruitfull in their fauour to the Courtier : howbeit, enoy no lesse attending on their fauor, than it awaiteth the Princes grace, it shalbe necessary to consider how this may either be eschewed, or els what armes the Courtier must put on to confront the same, that it proue not an impediment to his desseignes. But this heereafter in his fit place shall bee largelie handled.

C H A P. XXVI.

Of the helpe which may be drawen from the Princes friends.

THE like profit and vse may bee hoped for and expe-
cted from the Princes friends,
as from his *kindred*, the rea-
sons seruing almost both alike,
though these in some things
may

may be thought to be preferred in others, yet they come behind, for touching affection it is most cleere that those in fauour and beloued of the kindred, especially neerest in blud, are more respected then the fauourits of a friend, because they incline more, and desire the good rather of those then these. Wherefore to haue familiarity, to bee vsed kindly and held in trust and confidence with the kindred, doth much more easilly lay open the entrance to the Princes fauor. But on the other side, the friends come neerer in equalite, than the kindred doe, especially than those of vnderage, whereof it followeth, that they speake more confidently, and with lesse securitie are their requests and fauours denied, the which is often done with-

without anie great difficulty
vnto the kindred. Wherefore
the friends in these performan-
ces are to bee preferred , as da-
ring more, and leſſe vſed to de-
nials or repulſe. Whereupon,
their aid chiefly conſists in in-
terceſſion to obtaine ſome fa-
vour, or to preferre into ſervice.
But in this particular you muſt
obſerue and beware , that theſe
friends bee not the Princes e-
quals , or in any thing , (but
principally in quality of ſtate,)
Concurrents or Competitors ,
because in this caſe ſuch pro-
tection would cauſe the Cour-
tier to bee ſuſpected and mi-
ſtruſted of his Prince : the ex-
ample is at hand , that no man
who by the mediation of a Car-
~~dinall~~
^{Nota hoc} is received into the ſer-
vice of any other of them , and
continueth the dependancie &
protection

protection of his preferrer, shall
ever bee in perfect confidence
with his Lord. The reason
heereof is grounded on the
conformity or equality of their
interests in the *Papacy*, which
make them liue more heedily
and full of ielousie, so that the
seruice of any man, dependant
upon an other cannot satisfie
them, nor but breed great sus-
pition; the like may be vnder-
stood of other Princes with
whom the fauour done for their
sake who are either their con-
currents or like in estate, will
neuer bee profitable to the
Courtier. Wherefore these
friends must be of a degree in-
ferior, that is, subjects or ser-
vitors (but not domesticall or
assigned of his family) because
these haue authority by his
friendship, and depending on
him

him as on their superiour, are
his confidents cleere of suspi-
tion.

C H A P. XXVII.

*Of the helpe that may be
drawen from the Prin-
cess seruants.*

The testimonie that a belo-
ued seruant may make (for
of such an one we speake) of the
conuenienty and aptnesse the
Courtier hath in seruice, may
bee of speciall helpe for his in-
duction, and thus much is com-
mon to him with the friends &
kindred of the Prince. But a
fauored seruant hath yet one
commodity more, which is,
that there being many things
(as it is presupposed) belong-
ing to the Prince, committed
to his charge, he may in some
of

of them substitute the Courtier, or vse his helpe in them, whō he purposeth to aduance, and so by little and little lift him vp and set him forwards in the degrees of the Court, and by insinuation bring him into fauour, so that by the relation of his ability in seruice, and by making him partaker in his owne office and charge, I say the servant in grace may greatly aide the new Courtier.

But to know how to compasse, deserue and obtaine the helpe and protection of these fauourits, there is vse of a most exact prouidence and great discretion : because their desire to continue still in the first rancke breedeth in them a kind of ielousie and suspition, that for the most part they had rather doe contrary offices fearing

ring lest others should supplant and degrade them from their first honours, whereupon it commeth seldom to passe, that like succours are offered by any, but such as are well assured to be firmly established in their Princes fauour: howbeit even these (who well consider it) cannot so quietly repose themselves, but there will still remaine a lurking corner for timidity. Wherefore they haue great reason to goe well aduised, & discreetly to worke in the preferment of any one, and our wariness and skil must be no leſſe how to avoide and ward this doubt, by assuring them, that in their fauouring vs, they need not feare any preindice to themselves; the which may be thus; fift by all meanes poſſible to couer and keepe

L close,

close, the quicknesse and viuacity of the minde and spirit, for a wise man principally hath regard and feareth that, as being apt to take occasions, and by himselfe although but weakely helpt, may set vp a scaling ladder with his qualities to greater matters. Next, to make profession of eternal gratitude and dependancy on them, & by effects full of obsequious shewes openlie to testifie as much. Then not to shew so much courage as to dare aduecute further then they shall lead you by the hand, or set your course by their prescription; vntill the time your fauour gotten with the Prince be such, as may assure you of your proper force, the which I wish you ponder well before you come vnto the proofethercof: because if any man

man before his time shall goe about to separate or withdraw himselfe from vnder safe protection, and like a bird not flush shall take his flight, his downefall and his ruine will easily follow, for the other perceiving that he hath fostred a Corriual, happily by the authority which he yet reteineth with the Prince may frustrate all the hopes you haue of further aduancement in that seruice; wherefore it is necessary that this progresse be *gnomon-shadow* like, inuisible in his motion, and that the growth may then be seene, when it is fully growen, and of himselfe he may defend and vndershore the same, and so endeuour not to make his first experience, but as it were vpon occasion, by joint commission with an other man, which oftentimes make

L 2 offer

offer of themselues to those which wisely watch their times, knowing how easie a thing it is to fall into disgrace with Princes whom, you shall never so sincerely serue, but either by themselues, or by the malice of some other, you shall incurre displeasure or dislike in minde, which easily may be recouered, by him who knowes to take the benefit of opportunities.

C H A P. XXVIII.

How to keepe in fauour once obtained.

Hitherto (in my opinion) we haue sufficiently declared vnto the Courtier the way and meanes how to compasse and obtaine the Princes fauour : whereof at length, supposing hee hath gotten full possession,

possession, it resteth now to giue instructions, how he may preserue and keepe it, since he shall gaine no lesse commodity, and be asmuch commended for the well preseruing it, then hee was by the happy procuring thereof, the obtaining many times depending vpon accident and chance, but the maintenance of it vpon iudgement and discretion, the which is so rarely found amongst men, that infinite is the number of those who hauing liued sometime in grace as fauorites and *Primados* to their Prince, in the end come tumbling topsie turuy downe from so high a type of honour, whereof *Seianus* doth sufficiently giue testimony, who for long time not minion, but master ouer *Tiberius*, at last closed vp the period of his seruice with a most

L 3 vnhappy

vnhappy end. *Crispus Salustiu*

Tac. ann. a deereling also to Tiberiu,

lib. 3.

Ætate prouecta, speciem magis in

amicitia principis quam vim tenu-

it; idque Mæcenati acciderat:

Grown in yeeres held rather a

shew then any substance in the

Princes fauour; the like hapned

to Mæcenas, who of all others

*was most deere to Augus*tus*,*

ann. 3.

whereof Tacitus rendering a rea-

son, fato, inquit, potentie raro sem-

piterne, saith it is by fate decreed,

that great fauors are seldom

of long continuance, and heere-

of giues the cause. An satias ca-

pius aut illos, cum omnia tribue-

rant; aut hos, cum nihil reliquum

est quod cupiant; whether both

as it were at a non-plus, either

the Princes hauing giuen all

they can, or the Courtiers,

when there is nothing left, that

they may beg.

Now

Now heerein were manie things to be considered of : as first , if handling things which are within our choice, we should referre the cause thereof to fate; or granting that, if it were conuenient, to assigne a reason, as if from fate cause were giuen , and chiefly an electiue cause , depending vpon mans arbitrement. But because these should be too far from the matter now in hand , it shall suffice to say, That the reasons by him set downe, seeme to be of no truth, or to be the least part of those which might be brought , that is , causes of the least part of those effects which commonly happen in this particular , as shall be declared , because first in my opinion, none would suffer himselfe to be perswaded , that Princes vse to banish from

L 4 their

their fauour a fauoured servant, because of the abundance of benefites bestowed on him, knowing, as the *Moralists* doe teach vs, that the benefactour longeth him moit, to whom hee hath beene most bountifull, not recompensed by equalitie of loue; so that it is not only false, that there shold grow a hatred in the giuer because of his great benefits bestowed, but the contrary is most true, that by this action there springeth an espe- ciall benevolence in the bene- factor towards the fauourite, as his creature, and (as it were) worke of his hands, & as his te- stimonie of the practise of a ver- tuous action or deed. For if Na- ture herselfe brought not forth the effect of this loue for the reason alledged, election and free choice doubtlesse would produce

produce the same, because who doth not perceive how simple he should be, who by many benefits having obliged one vnto him, would voluntarily make chiose to lose him? Wherfore it is not true, that *Satias capiat Principem, quod omnia tribuerit:* the Prince is at a stand, hauing giuen as much as he can.

Neither is it true also, that the *Courtier* hauing receiued so many benefits of his Prince, that there is no more place of further expectation, should bee a cause on the Courtiers part, to make, that *potentiae sint raro semper iterae;* great fauours should be seldome euerlasting. For albeit Tacitus in another place saith, *beneficia consiq; grata sunt dum videntur excolui posse, ubi multum anteuenerere, pro gratia odinum redditur:* good turnes are so far-

L 5 accept-

*Lib. 4.
Anne*

acceptable, as there is possibility of requital; when they grow greater, in stead of thanks, hatred is returned. Yet it proueth false in true nobilitie and gratefull mindes, in whom loue and regard to benefactors groweth in true counterpoise with the grace and benefits receiuied, or rather doth surpassie it: for hee who can not with effectes be correspondent to the fauour done, must yet at least devise to make some shew of an inward gratuicie, and as wrath is not contented to manifest the wrong in that measure it receiueth it, but in desire of reuenge reteineth a farre greater scope; in like sort, ✓ that facultie wherein thankfulness and gratitude reside, doth not desire by nature (which makes vs euer striue to be more than other men) onely to giue equall

equall recompense with the benefit, but much more then what hath beeene received, supplying want of outward meanes, with abundance of inward good wil: so that in loue he answereth not alone in iust proportion to his dutie, but by the foresaid reason endeouours to outstrip the same. Thus much is fayd to shew the falsehood of that reason, the which though it should be granted, the cause would easily appeare; whereby seruants sometimes cuen voluntarily depriue themselues of that fauour which they receiue with Princes. But there resteth yet a doubt, how it comes to passe, that so often times the fauorites fall in disgrace with their Lords: and this is that which for the most part is common, whereof the examples of *Scianus*, of

Crispus.

Crispus Salustius, and *Mæcenas*,
fer downe by *Tacitus*, giue eui-
dent testimonie. Whereupon
it appeareth, that in reason we
can nor rest our selues vpon
these causes, and that therefore
it were necessary we see if there
be any others yet more true and
of greater consideration, which
we will endevour to discouer in
the processe of our discourse,
saying in the meane time, that
the originall of the foresayd
losse may grow either from the
Prince or from the Courtiers,
comprehending vnder the same
name aswell the kindred as the
Priences friends; the reasons,
as it shall appeare, seruing all a-
like: and therefore we must ad-
uert both what must be obser-
ued with the Prince, and what
likewise with the Courtiers,
peaceably and without danger

to

to keepe that fauor, which with
so great paines and industrie
hath beene procured.

CHAP. XXIX.

*What is to be obserued with the
Prince for the continuing
in his fauour.*

There are three thinges
which seeme necessarie to
bee obserued with the Prince ;
the first is, that the fauor being
obtained by diligence and satis-
faction giuen in seruice, he per-
severe and goe forward in the
same with the same termes. The
which thing not onely by those
of meane capacitie, but by
great Courtiers many times to
their greater detriment is neg-
lected. Tacitus saith of Sejanus,
that *nimia fortuna socors factus*,
et; ouer-great fortunachad made
him

him negligent , a thing for two
reasons very dangerous ; first,
the heat of your service relent-
ing, the Princes loue cannot but
grow luke-warme; next because
by this meanes you giue occa-
sion to some other more diligent
and carefull to make his entry;
wherefore it followeth necessa-
rily, in no case to leau off anie
vsuall obseruances , nor at anie
time to make shew of lesse fer-
uencie in seruice : which is very
requisite, because if the hope of
fauour be the cause of a diligent
and commendable seruice, by
how much more ought the se-
cure possession of the same,
cause the continuance therein?
The second aduertisement is,
no more to shew , then to be in
deed, an upright and honorable
man , I meane for no priuate
respect to bee inticed to abuse
the

the fauour of his lord, either by making sale thereof, by vniust opprestions, or offering violence to please the vnbridled appetites of other men and such like, to the damage and preiudice of any man, because such like actions can by no means bee pleasing to the Prince, aswell for the discouerie of an euill qualitie in him that performeth them, of whom it is to be conjectured he cannot in reason bee assured: as for the wound that by so bad a friend he receaueth in his reputation, whereof how much Princes make account, or at least ought to esteeme *Tacitus* teacheth saying, *Cætera principibus statim ann. l. 4.*
adesse, unum insatiabiliter parandum prosperam sui memoriam: Princes are in possession of all other things at their will, but one

one thing they must insatiablie
seeke after (that is) to leaue a
happie memorie behind them.
And more plainly in an other
place; *Ceteris mortalibus in eo*
flare consilia, quid sibi conducere
patent: Principum diuersam esse
soritem, quibus pricipua rerum ad
famam dirigenda: other mens
consultations only tend to their
profit, but it falleth out other-
wise with Princes, whose actions
chiefly are to bee directed to
fame and reputation. The third
& last obseruation in this point
is, not one iot to diminish the
reuerence and duty towards the
Prince, nor because of speciall
confidence to presume to vse
familiaritie. And for certeine, I
have bene aduertised by a most
inward fauorite of a great Prince
in Italy, that by this one obser-
vation hee profited much, and
that

that the same Prince vsed pub-
likely to say , that in so manie
occasions of familiaritie, he see-
med still more fresh , & like one
but newly entred into his ser-
vice : the reason heereof is, be-
cause obsequious reverence is
at all times pleasing , as witnes-
sing a superioritie in the person
to whom it is vsed. And as af-
fectation is to be eschewed , so
to arrogate or attribute too
much , can by no meanes bee
pleasing to the Prince ; for as
before vpon other occasion wee
have alledged : *Quemadmodum* Tacit.
bft. li. 4.
pessimis principibus sine fine domi-
natio, ita quamuis egregys modus
libertatis placet : As a continuall
rule is pleasing euен to the
woorſt Emperours ; so no leſſe
pleasing is a modest kinde of
plainneſſe, euен to the greatest
men : wherefore the Courtier
must

must bound himselfe within the
limits of his owne condition,
which he shall easily doe if he
often call to minde, that the en-
trance into familiarity with his
Prince is granted him as a fa-
vour, not as a due, and to the
end he may vse it, not that he
should vse it ; and that in manie
things the appearance and repu-
tation to be able to doe or per-
forme them, is better, then wil-
lingly to come to the actuall
execution of them.

C H A P. XXX.

*What is to be obserued with other
Courtiers, and the maner
how to make them
his friends.*

THAT part which compre-
hendeth his office or carri-
age towards other courtiers, is
farre

farre more hard ; wherefore it
is fit we discourse thereof more
at large. First it is necessary, if it
be possible, to make them our
friends & confidents, or at least
not to be our enemies ; the rea-
son is, because either directly or
indirectly they may doe some
things, whereby our fauor with
the Prince may bediminished,
yea, & happily wholly diuerted
aswell through the inconstancy
of the minds of men, as because
no man liues so void of errour,
that may not in something giue
disgust vnto his lord, who ma-
ny times with too great an im-
pression receiueth that which
malitiously is suggested in an o-
thers disgrace. The obtaining
them to friend, is wrought, ei-
ther through benefit or hope.
The Courtiers may diuersly be
pleasured by a fauored seruant,

as

as by the ascribing much vnto them , by the preferring them into seruice, by promotion , or by the procuremēt of some fauor for them. The chiefeſt way of winning theſe mens loue, is to preferre them to be of the Princes houſholde , because by this meanes he maketh them his Creatures and dependants, of whom he may make ſpeciall uſe in his occurrents as men greatly bound vnto him , of whom wee will treat in his place, ſhewing what profit is drawen from ſuch kinde of friends. But it is good to note , not to preferre men of too great parts, for theſe grounding their fortunes vpon their owne deſerts eaſily forget that bond. And ſuch are the perfect and true Noble men, the rich, and thoſe excellent in any ſpeciall ſcience, arte or ho-norable

norable quality. Wherefore he must preferre such as are of the meane, in birth, faculty and quality, because the falling into the other extreame is as vicious, the reason is, for that many times there are some persons fauoured, who do small credit, or rather disgrace their preferour: howbeit, there bee some that hold it for a good rule, to receiue into their seruice the most vnaptest people, as men neither of bountie nor valour, that by this touch, their owne woorthinesse may be the better knownen, imitating in this point Augustus of whom it is said: Tiberium Tacit. li. ab eo non caritate, aut reipub. curâ successorem adscitum, sed quoni- am arrogantium sauitiumq; eius introspexit, comparatione deterrima sibi gloriam acquiesuisse: Tiberius was not chosen succes- sor ^{I. Ann.}

for to the state by him either for affection to him , or care of the Common-wealth , but perceiving in him arrogancie and crueltie , he would by so bad and vnequal comparison , be thought the more glorious afterward : but this is not befitting in the Princes seruice , and for the reason alledged were dangerous . The same care must he haue in the promoting into any great charge , those who already are preferred into the houſhold either by others , or by himſelfe , or by the Princes owne choice , and aboue all things , that hee beware of men that haue ſpirit and life in them ; for theſe no leſſe watchfull than ready may at one time or other by their diligent obſeruation watch their opportunity ſo well , that they may degrade him from his firſt honours :

honours : and doubtlesse of all the rest this qualitie is most to be feared, because it seemes not, that a Princes fauor by any better meanes is obtained, than by this alacrity & liuelinessse, which are true signes of valor and abilitie to performe many things, which to others would seeme impossible ; whereupon it is iustly said of these, that *excitantur ad meliora magnitudine rerum* : they are encouraged to greater matters by great imploiments : wheras for the most part *habescunt alijs*, others grow blunt and dull. Wherfore the Courtier must haue speciall care to beware of such like rockes, that he may anchor free & void of danger in possession of the fauour alreadie obtained ; aduerting further, that in his aduancement of others he be not so

so prodigall in their commendations, that it be prejudiciale to his owne commoditie. But herc of more at large hereafter.

The last meanes how to benefit the Courtiers, consisteth in obteining either for them or their friends some fauours or sutes, which he must often procure, that he may the more entirely binde them vnto him : finally al these aduertisements do presuppose an abilitie in the Courtier to receave these fauours and benefits of his Prince ; in which case for that some are found(as hath bene said) somewhat hard and vntractable towards their seruants, it is not unnecessary to consider how the Courtier may draw from the Prince, though vnwilling, those fauours hee desireth either for himselfe or his friends.

CHAP.

C H A P: XXXI.

*The meanes how to obteine of the
Prince those fauours and grace,
which are desired.*

THE procuring of fauours from the Prince is both profitable and honorable vnto the Courtier: profitable, by the benefit which followeth either to himselfe or to those for whom he obteineth them, who by this meanes hee maketh much beholding vnto him. Honorable, because he is accounted a faurite, who hath his Princes wil at his dispose, and can compasse those fauours which hee please either for himselfe or his friends & dependents. Wherfore when the nature of the Prince is of that kinde which is found in some with great commendati-

M ons,

ons, though yet but seldom; that is, inclined to beneficence, he shall have no great need either of precepts or of arte, more then onely in shewing a modestie in his requests, that in no sort hee doe manifest the least pretention of expectation, as of dutie from the Prince, as also not to bee too frequent in their offices, and not to desire things so impertinent, that woorthey they may receave the repulse. But when the Prince is neare or hard in granting fauours, either because he will not exceed the limits in doing good vnto his seruants, as doubting they should abandon him, or to keepe them in awe that they grow not over confident, or for the small esteeme he makes of them, or finally for feare they should sell his fauours to some other,

other; in these cases arte is necessarie. Wherefore if the hand be closed, fearing to bee forsaken, it shall helpe much to shew a retentive memorie and gratitude for benefits, with a greater desire to bee serviceable after a reward than before. And certes it seemeth iust and true, that in a minde well borne and of good education and qualitie, a present reward worketh greater effects than a future hope. To conclude, to professe to runne one and the same fortune with his Prince, and to die in the seruice of him & his house, seemeth to be a conuenient & proportionate remedie against this evill. To the second, the same modestie conuincid from his first entrance, even to that degrce wherein the Courtier shall be found, helpe much, nor

M 2 shew:

ons, though yet but seldom; that is, inclined to beneficence, he shall have no great need either of precepts or of arte, more then onely in shewing a modestie in his requests, that in no sort hee doe manifest the least pretention of expectation, as of dutie from the Prince, as also not to bee too frequent in these offices, and not to desire things so impertinent, that woorthely they may receaue the repulse. But when the Prince is neere or hard in granting fauours, either because he will not exceed the limits in doing good vnto his seruants, as doubting they should abandon him, or to keepe them in awe that they grow not ouer confident, or for the small esteeme hee makes of them, or finally for feare they should sell his fauours to some other,

other ; in these cases arte is necessarie. Wherefore if the hand be closed, fearing to bee forsaken, it shall helpe much to shew a retentive memorie and gratitude for benefits , with a greater desire to bee seruiceable after a reward than before. And certes it seemeth iust and true, that in a minde well borne and of good education and qualitie , a present reward worketh greater effects than a future hope. To conclude, to professe to runne one and the same fortune with his Prince, and to die in the seruice of him & his house, seemeth to be a conuenient & proportionate remedie against this euill. To the second, the same modestie continued from his first entrance , even to that degrce wherein the Courtier shall be found , helpeith much , not

M 2 shew-

shewing any alteration at all, or diminution of dutie or reuerence, as before hath beeene noted. But if the Prince be strict and drile-fisted in his fauors, for the small respect which naturally he hath of his servants, the Courtier hath but a weak hope, where there is such an humour. Wherefore it is necessary either to endeuour that the Master change copie and stile in letting him see qualities of woorth, at least for the affect and aptnesse to his seruice, worthy to be regarded, or els, this not succeeding, to answer him proportionally with the same termes of light esteeme or respect of him ; yet so, if it be as doubting lefft his fauours should be sold, you must obserue that rule aboue set downe , which(in fine) consisteth in setting the honour

and

and reputation of the Prince before your eies, and not to abuse the free libertie you haue obtained to dispose thereof.

But that hardnessse which groweth by nature , not enclined to liberalitie or beneficence , is hardest of all the rest to be ouerruled : and truly it is evident , that there bee some from whom it is impossible directly to derive any fauour ; wherefore it is fit to vse arte , and wisely to insinuate occasions and reasons for the faours he desireth , and to attend opportunities , which are easily found by him who continually or for the most part is in presence of his Prince , faining sometime when need shall be , to haue no affect , motion or desire of the contrary , and discreetly to vse himselfe in this sinistrous course ,

M 3 chickly

chiefly when to this naturall niggardliness, there is any suspition of the Courtiers fidelity adioyned. True it is, that heereof it comes to passe, that benefits are not obtained from such Masters but by length of time, and pining expectation, that there is great patience required in the seruant, who in requitall heereof oweth him small duty, being more beholding to his owne artificiall cunning and dexterity, then to the good will of the Prince; howbeit, it is necessary so much as may be, to conceale this affect or motion, and to conclude all speeches with him, with a gratiouse conge and giuing thanks; *bic est enim finis omnium, cum dominante sermonum*, saith Tacitus: for such must bee the conclusion of all speeches with Princes. Heereof also

also it followeth that euен the Princes oftentimes receiuie proportionall acknowledgments; for nature herfelfe wil not suffer that any man should serve, either not allured by hope, or forced by gratuities; and who believeth otherwise, must not maruell if many times there be occasions to complaine of seruants, since without all doubt, the Master is the rule and paternitie of the quality of the service to those that follow him: wherupon the measure falling out scarce and couetously-short on his side, vniustly should he pretend a large abundance or heaped vp liberality from his seruants. But all these difficulties are supposed not in possession of fauor, but in sleight regard, because if any one bee found interessed in his Princes

M 4 loue

love, he cannot fall into any of the foresaid conceits, but disposeth of his fauours as it pleaseth him, yet regularly and with that modesty and wisdome, which is required of him who is to deale with a person of that quality as we presuppose the Prince to be.

But heere wee must not leaue to shew, that the Courtier may also in many other things by an other way without being ouer combersome vnto the Prince, be a meane for others of many fauours; and this consisteth in vsing the helpe of principall officers and ministers who are able in their charge or may easily finde the occasion to obtaine many fauours, or by themselues make many resolutions, whereof the prouident Courtier may make some vse, either for his owne or his friends profit' and

com-

commoditie, for that these officers whereof we speake being for the most part none of the Princes family, or howsoeuer if they were thereof, being desirous to haue any speciaall protection from him, they will willingly endeavour to deserue the good will of him whom they know to bee most fauored and most deere; and this course of procuring fauour without trouble vnto the Prince, is verie commendable, being conuenient to deserue his fauor & helpe for things of greater importance: Besides this going thus retiredly and vsing the meanes of others in their proper charges, is not onely profitable, for the aboue alleged reasons, but are as testimonie of modestie & reuerence towards his Prince: As though one could never ar-

M 5 rogate

rogate so much in desert by ser-
vice, that confidently he might
charge him with expectation of
fauours or rewards. But on the
other side, it is necessarie to flie
the other extreame; for that
those who fearing to be fastidi-
ous or troublesome vnto their
Prince, never desire any fauour
of him, incurre two great er-
rors; the first is, they lose the
occasions to winne to them-
selues assured friends and de-
pendents; the other is, that by
these meanes they never get the
reputation which is incident to
those Courtiers, who make
themselues knownen to be
beloued and fauored
of the Prince
whom they
scrue.

CHAP. XXXII.

What must be observed not to have
the Courtiers his enemies,
and to avoid ill turnes
and bad offices.

Although many are by na-
ture so austere, that neither
by benefits or other merits it is
possible to make them tracta-
ble or benevolent, yet are not
all men of this disposition or
quality; wherefore towards those
which are of more civilitie and
humanity, the Courtier is to ab-
stain and beware of two things,
that is, to offend them or giue
occasion of envy. Let vs first
speak of the *offences*, as the most
efficient cause of hatred, and
then secondly of *envy*.

Howbeit therefore that ma-
ny are the meances whereby the
Courtier

rogate so much in desert by service, that confidently he might charge him with expectation of fauours or rewards. But on the other side, it is necessarie to flie the other extreame; for that those who fearing to be fastidious or troublesome vnto their Prince, never desire any fauour of him, incurre two great errors; the first is, they lose the occasions to winne to themselves assured friends and dependents; the other is, that by these meanes they never get the reputation which is incident to those Courtiers, who make themselves knownen to be beloued and fauored of the Prince whom they serue.

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What must be observed not to have
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occasion of envy. Let vs first
speak of the *offences*, as the most
efficient cause of hatred, and
then secondly of *envy*.

Howbeit therefore that ma-
ny are the meane whereby the
Courtier

Ann. 4.
lib. 4.

Courtier may giue offence, yet that of detraction and passing bad offices with the Prince to another mans detriment, seemes to bee most proper vnto him as a Courtier. This was a cunning or arte much vsed by *Seianus*, of whom *Cornelius Tacitus* hauing said, that *fuit audax, sui obtegens*, he was bold & a concealer of his owne desseignes: he ioineth therewithall, in alias *criminator*, a calumniator or finde-fault of others. And *Antonius Primus* purposed as much, and in effect performed no lesse against *Mirianus*, who notwithstanding with the same weapon, fortunately defended himself, insomuch that through the great and manifold good turnes which *Antonius* had deserued of *Vespasian*, hee easilie blotted out the incinery there-of.

of. And truely since it is so, that no more then one at once, can well possesse the chiefeſt place in the Princes fauour, it is neceſſarie ſo much as may bee, to keepe others a looffe off, from entring in, which chiefly is performed by attenuating other mens merits, and prouoking either the Princes neglect or hatred againſt thofe in particular, who for the neerenelleſſe they are in the Princes fauour, are more dangerouſly left in that degree, without ſome moleſtation. Howſoever, yet this ſeemeth very abſurd, that any whose ſcope is honorable reputation, ſhould take ſo crooked and ſiniftrous a course, there being no ſo apparent a ſigne of any mans abieſt baſonelleſſe, nor any thing that more diſtainteth ciuitie it ſelfe, then *Vnde alijs infamiam pariat,*

pariat, inde glorians quemquam si-
bi recipere : whence others get
disgrace, thence any man to
ground his glory or aduaunce-
ment, and that which more im-
porteth, seeming to conquer in
this campe, in stead of vertue &
commendable valor, he procu-
reth for his reward malice, ha-
tred, and enuie; besides, it is ve-
ry probable, that a wise and ge-
nerous Prince ought not to re-
ceiue into any degree of fauor, a
Courtier who shoule be knownen
to be apt and prone by nature
and badde inclination to slan-
der or speake euill to an others
preiudice, because, *Si proditoris,*
etiam ijs quos anteponunt innisi-
sunt; if once traytors, then are
they hatefull euen to those who
make vse of them; how much
more should calumniators or
slanderers be odious! frō whom
the

the Prince (as such kind of men) receaueth no service at all, but rather a cause of disgust or dislike towards those, by whom happily he might be better serued, then by these detractors; and giueth him occasion also to doubt, lest they should arme themselves in like terms against himselfe, with their malignant toongs, in offence of his honor and reputation. And certainly though it be fit the Prince shuld *omnia scire*, and that also in his owne family; that he might the better gouerne the same, there is no doubt, but the informers therof are not very gratefull vnto him, and hatefull vnto all others of the Court, either for some offence receaued, or suspecting or fearing to receaue some, as in all likelihood they may iustly feare of persons so wickedly

Tac. in
vit. Cor.
Agri.

wickedly inclined. Wherefore this course is not onely not honorable, but very dangerous, & exposed to many hurts, which grow many times to that pitch, that alone they degrade not the Courtier from the Princes grace, but irrecoverable cause his vtter ruine, and that chiefly because if he begin but once to falter, his owne friends conforming themselves to the rest, become his persecutors, and then with his owne overthrow, hee shall know how true it is, that

X Tac. lib. 13. ann. *nihil rerum mortaliū tam insta-
bile ac fluxuum est, quam fama po-
tentia, non snavi nixa;* there is no
mortal thing so instable and fickle
as the fame of greatnesse not
supported by it owne force or
strength; and that he ought to
haue imprinted in his memorie
that other saying, *quanto quis
plus*

plus adeptus est, tanto se magis in lubrico existimet; how much the more a man hath heaped vp, in so much the greater instabilitie and icey-footing let him suppose himselfe. These in my opinion may well be called bad offices: from the which the wise and honorable Courtier for the reasons aboue alleged, ought wholly to abstaine.

CHAP. XXXIII.

*How the Courtier is to carrie
himselfe with his enemies
and persecutors.*

Bt because it is a naturall thing to defend our selues and to devise how to preserue and mainetaine vs in that state of happiness which with great labour wee haue procured, and that oftentimes it may fall out

that

wickedly inclined. Wherefore this course is not onely not honorable, but very dangerous, & exposed to many hurts, which grow many times to that pitch, that alone they degrade not the Courtier from the Princes grace, but irrecoverable cause his vtter ruine, and that chiefly because if he begin but once to falter, his owne friends conforming themselves to the rest, become his persecutors, and then with his owne ouerthrow, hee shall know how true it is, that

X Tac. lib. nibil rerum mortaliū tam insta-
13. ann. bile ac fluxum est, quam fama po-
tentia, non suavis nix; there is no
mortal thing so instable and fickle
as the fame of greatnesse not
supported by it owne force or
strength; and that he ought to
haue imprinted in his memorie
that other saying, quanto quis
plus

plus adeptus est, tanto se magis in
lubrico existimet; how much the
more a man hath heaped vp, in
so much the greater instabilitie
and icey-footing let him sup-
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that one may be maligned, or at least may have some other accidents so neere at hand, that danger shalbe imminent to him that with some arte or skill doth not defend himselfe; it shall be fit to discourse how the Courtier is to gouerne him, betwene these two so dangerous rockes, the one of *flaunderous backebiting* and *persecution*, the other of *concurreny* and *emulation*.

First of persecution, against the which hee must first make his defence with rewards and benefits, the which are apt not only to extinguish this malignity, and to surcease that dangerous prosecution, but to change and conuert the imagination of hurt and wrong, into a more benevolent and friendly mind. This shall bee a most profitable gaine, and so much the more com-

commendable, the lesle it shalbe
vsed, sauing to persons in whom
vertue in his highest degree,
hath wonne the regiment of a
most perfect habit, it being na-
turally very absurd to bee bene-
ficiall to those who are knownen
to be of a peruerse and ill affec-
ted minde: but because many
times, such is the malignitie of
men, that it cannot be appeased
or overcome by any benefit, it
is necessary to take some other
course, that is, with a resolute
mind to make proofe who shall
in the end preuaile, devising
how to extinguish or supplant
his aduersary, not by death, but
by expulsion, either out of
Court or wholly out of fauour.
And this will succeed very se-
curely, and without any great
labour, to him who shall be in
such fauour as we now presup-
pose

pose him, because he shall not only haue easie acceſſe vnto the Princes eare, whereby he may haue discourse at his pleasure, and take occasion to do bad offices against his persecuters, but he shall poſſeſſe a great faction of friends amongst the Courtiers, who may ſerue hiſ turne by *giving out*, and ſowing in the Court, yea and with the Prince hiſelfe, the like ſeed of report, whereby the traducers in the end ſhall reape the fruits anſwe-able to their deſerts. But the Courtier for hiſ owne part muſt endeouour to keepe hiſelfe in the good opinion of hiſ againſt whom hee mindes to reuenge hiſelfe, not giuing the leaſt occaſion or ſigne of bad ſatiſfa-ction, and keepe hiſelfe the moſt wary and retired in hiſ ſpeech in all places and at all times

times that may be. And in sted
heereof he must haue his mini-
sters ready , by whose meanes
he may compasse his desaigned
purpose; as most easily he shall
doe, if besides this, vpon occa-
sions with the Prince,either ex-
cusing or denying the accusati-
ons spread of his aduersarie , he
shall so much the more confirm
them,by how much he shal shew
himselfe the lesse interested or
malicious against him. But here
we must note , that if the perse-
cutions on the other side be o-
pen and manifest , and such as
can not be concealed, and done
as it were in disgrace ; it is then
necessary , openly , and not by
close conueiance,to resist them,
for the manifestation and no-
tice that thereof may be taken,
both of his authoritie & power
to defend himselfe and offend
others,

others, when he is so resolued: whereby followeth both a fear and hope in others, which affects are the beginnings, though diversly, of friendship and confidence, because fear enforceth to confidence for the more assurance, & hope induceth friendship to win profit and commoditie thereby: yet howsoeuer, many had rather use dissimulation & close stratagems against their enemies, either for their reputation in making slight regard of wrongs, or the commendations which they procure in pardoning iniuries, or at least because by this meanes they make their enemie the lesse heedfull, wherby with the more ease they supprese him; & quo

Lib. I. ~~X~~ incautior deciperetur, palum laudatum, saith Tacitus; and to the end he might more vnwarily be deceived,

deceiued, praised him openly. I know not to what purpose, but for certeine , this was the onely arte & sleight of Tiberius, which in particular he vised against his nephew Germanicus, and against Scianus his fauorite, who living in the fauor of Tiberius, did also practise it to the ruine and overthrow of many : and Mutianus by the selfe same oppressed his Concurrent Antonius Primus. These then are the two meanes to resist our enemies and persecuters in the Court. But if one be but of little authoritie or fauour with the Prince , and notwithstanding maligned in the obteining thereof, there are two remedies ; the first is, to humble himselfe to the detractours, seeking all the meanes to procure them to be his friends, and to make them beleue hee pretendeth

tendeth not any thing more than themselves. The other is, to be an adherent or dependent to the most potent of the court, vnder whose protection he may liue; or at least to be of the contrary faction to them, if there shall be any , as it is most vsuall and common among the Courtiuers. To conclude, to shun or take away the occasion, by insinuating into their fauor , or by liuing vnder the shelter of some other , or els to resist them by the succor and force of the contrary faction.

C H A P. XXXIIII.

*How he may keepe backe his Con-
currents and Corriuals.*

BVt if the danger of being remooued from possession of this fauour grow from ano-
thers

thers well deserving, wherby
the Concurrents indeuor them-
selues to be aduanced and pre-
ferred into the loue and grace
of the Prince, it should bee
then necessary to take another
way.

And truly, howbeit it falleth
out very seldome, that any Ma-
ster who hath bound and found
a seruant confident vnto him,
can greatly loue any other, since
one and the same kinde of loue
can hardly be branched and se-
uered into diuers subiects: not-
withstanding because it may fall
out, & often times it hath been
seen come to passe, that Cour-
tiers who for a time were fau-
rites and primados, haue bee[n]
expulfed and lost their grace, it
is necessary in such case to shew
the meanes how to preserue the
same. The first precept there-

N fore

foreis, that he endeuour by diligent seruice to out-strip his **Concurrents** in good deserts, this being the most reall & honourable way, succeedeth also more securely, tending wholly and ending in the profit and commoditie of the Prince, from whom, as we haue often sayd, proportionable fauour must be attened, and expected according to the actual seruice done. But when this course is not thought sufficient, it is necessary as much as is possible to thrust off, and keepe backe, such Concurrents from the Princes seruice : vsing meanes that either very seldom or never there be occasion given, for them to insinuate, either by seruice or familiarity into the pleasure of his Lord or Prince : this will easily fall-out, if at the first he be vigilant

lant in not permitting any man
to thrust himselfe too forwards,
because out of this time, there
medy will bee both hard and
dangerous. But to the perfor
mance heereof since one alone
cannot with effect supply all
charges and offices, it is neces
sary to bring in others depen
dents on him, and qualified in
such sort as before hath beeene
declared, so that the Prince be
ing serued & satisfied by these,
haue no cause to long after, or
desire the seruice of the others,
whose practice might happily
breed matter both of feare and
ielousie. But this not succee
ding, I will not speake of badde
offices : since these as inhu
mane & not fitting any woorthy
or honorable man, and also as
not being very seare, ought to
bee banished the very thoughts

N 3 of

of every good and Christian
Courtier.

C H A P. XXXV.

The meanes how to quoid enny.

Let vs now cometo that other part which is the cause that Princes favorites are seldome seene or looked on with a fauourable eie by the rest of the Courtiers: and that is, *Enny*, the which, who shall well consider things antiently past, shall finde it to haue beeene the cause of the ruine of so many, that the testimony of examples to so manifest a knowledge were mere superfluous: and therefore with diuers sleights & arts by the wiest Courtiers, hath euer beeene auoided: the which we thinke fit in this place onely with brevity to point at.

First

First therefore with the *Enn-*
emis wee must hold the same
course and rule, as with our *per-*
secutors, in endeououring to ap-
pease them and make them our
friends with benefits and re-
wards; since so being made our
well willers, they will not greeue
at an other mans profit, as at
their owne damage, the good of
one friend being common to
all friends. Next, for that the
cause of *Envie* is an others good
& profit in possession, it shall be
wisedome to conceal it, or at
least to make as slender esteeme
thereof in appearance as may be,
not shewing himselfe arrogant
or proud therof by any meanes,
but rather, as not caring for it,
or desirous to leane it, or to
make it common to some other;
Sciurus, great Master in the
Courtiers arte, considering how

N 3 pro-

preiudiciall vnto him the con-
course of the people, and cour-
ting of him , was resolued with
Tac. lib. 4. ann. himselfe , minuere sibi inuidiam ,
ademptas salutantium turba , sub-
latisque inanibus ; To diminish
the envy borne him , by aban-
doning the idle salutations of
the multitude, and remouing
vaine shadowes. Words of great
consideration , but little obser-
ued , *vera potentia angere ,* to en-
crease true power and authority ;
and heerein consisteth the true
essentiall judgement and worth
of the Courier. True it is that
afterwards he considering , *affi-*
duor in dominum certus arendo , in-
fringere potentiam , that driving
away or neglecting the conti-
nuall concourse of multitudes
that came vnto his house , hee
should weaken his authority ,
no lesse then on the other side ,
receptando ,

recepundo, facultatem criminandi
bi exhibere; entreaining them,
he should minister matter vnto
envious find-faults: lastly, thus
straightned in this difficult
counsell; *Huc flexit, ut Tiberi-
um ad vitam procul Romanam u-
manis locis degendam impellere;*
he thus resolued, that he would
perswade *Tiberius* to lead his
life in some pleasant places farr
from *Rome*. And truly as this is
a most considerable point, so is
it exceeding hard to finde the
true square or roote thereof, be-
cause that either not respecting
or refusing some apparances, he
may greatly crale his credit and
reputation, which indeed is no
other then *opinio*; and this opi-
nion groweth of the apparence
and shew, and not alone of be-
ing a favorite, but of the know-
ledge that is taken thereof by
N 4 others:

others: and on the other side, from these ostentations riseth
envie, whose follower manie times is the ruine of the Cour-
tier; wherfore it is necessarie to walke with infinite wariness
and discretion betweene these
two extreames: with this par-
ticular aduertisement, not to
grow too great or familiar with
the Courtiers, since that, *In sua
mortalibus natura*, saith Tacitus,
it is naturall vnto euery man, re-
centem aliorum felicitatem agris
oculis introspicere, modumq; for-
tune à nullis magis exigere, quam
gnos in aquo uidere: to behold
other mens fresh happines, with
envious eies, and to wish an in-
different or meane fortune, to
none so much, as to those whom
they haue knownen their equals.
Wherfore Seneca aduising him-
selfe, though all too late, how
much

Lib. 2.
l. 57.

much enuy encreased vpon him
after the death of *Burrhus*; *Ta-* Lib. 14.
citus reporting, that his envious ^{ann.}
persecutors, *Varijs cum crimi-*
nantibus adortis sunt, tanquam in-
gentes, & priuatim modum ene-
tas opes adhuc augeret, quodque,
studia ciuitatum in se verteret, hor-
torum quoq; amoenitate, & villa-
rum magnificentia quasi Prince-
pem supergrediretur: vpbraided
him with sundry calumniations,
as that hee continually heaped
vp wealth in excesse, & beyond
the compass of a priuate man,
that he wonne the hearts of the
people, and that for pleasant
gardens and magnificent state-
ly buildings, hee almost excee-
ded the Prince; colours, onely
for shadow and couerture of en-
vie: purposed to make a resig-
nation of all his fortunes and
wealth, or the greater part vnto

N 5 Nero

Nero againe ; but this imagination hauing no successe , Insti-
tuta prioris potentie communiat , prohibet caets salutantium , vitas
comitantes , rarus per urbem , quasi
maletudine infensa , aut sapientia
studij domi attineretur ; Hee
changed the course of his first
greatnesse , forbidding the mul-
titudes which came to perform
complements of curiosie , dis-
charged his followers , shewed
himselfe seldom in the citie ,
as though he kept home , either
fearing his health , or busie at
his booke and studies .

Besides all this , it serueth
much to the purpose to make a
shew that this fauour and grace
is rather voluntarily graunted
than ambitiouly procured , v-
sing the same , as hath bene said ,
not onely without offence to o-
thers , but rather to the benefit
of

of others, and keeping the *deco-
rum* of his degree and place, not
with a proud disdainfulness,
but with a sweet and graue mo-
dety, something inclining to
popularity. Finally, because
Envy swaieth amongst equals,
or persons at least that so think
themselues, if any man shall en-
deuour himselfe so much to ex-
ceed in vertue, or otherwise by
long and honourable seruice,
should take occasion to pretend
equality; without all question
envy would either cease, or ra-
ther, to speake better, would ne-
ver begin.

But when these obseruations
shall not free or sufficiently de-
fend the Courtier from this
contagion, whose companion
for the most part is *malitious de-
straction*, if shee once shew her
selfe so apparently that offences
doe

doe grow, we must then vse the same arte against the *Enuious*, as against the *malivolent* and *wicked slanderer*; devising; if it be possible, to remouue him from the Court, or wholly out of seruice; and so performe the same with the more ease, he shall doe well to remember that which a little before hath beene said, that is, howbeit the Courtier be not by himselfe to performe any badde offices, hee may passe them notwithstanding by meanes of his adherents, in case necessity binde him to main-taine his place; and therefore, not onely for this purpose, but for many other causes, it is ne-cessary that he be well furnished of good store of friends & con-fidents of all sorts, that is, to the end to be enformed of all that is done or said in the Court, and that

that for diuers reasons. As first to vnderstand what opinion is held of him amongst the other Courtiers, and which of his actions are either praised or reproued, making vse of such aduice by the way of correction. Next to distinguish of faithfull from fained friends, because euerie man shewes himselfe louing and kinde to him whom they know fauoured of the Prince, though it may be, really & indeed, they are the contrary; a thing by meanes of these confidents easilly discouered : since they are conuersant, he vnderstand and obserue all that passeth in the Court, chiefly entertaining some who shall carry small apparence of being inward with him ; for that vnto such, as not esteemed of any great credit, or partialists to the fauoured Courtier, they will

will easilie vnmaske, and reueale
the very inwards of their harts:
or else themselues being dex-
trous & cunning in this kind as
men of good vnderstanding, can
by an inckling easilie conjecture
the rest. And lastly, to know
what is done, yea or thought
by these malitious enuiers even
in their private liuing, because
none liueth without sinne, it
will be easie to finde matter to
reproue their bolde malitious
slanders with the knowledge of
their owne actions; and being
willing to hurt them that shall
goe about to offend or wrong
him, hee may easilie by
these meanes effect
and bring it to
pass.

CHAP. XXXVI.

*What the Courtier is to doe who
shall finde himselfe slenderly
respected of his Prince
or Lord.*

Thus much, in my opinion, may be said for the Courtiers good aduertisement : if any other imagin he can more aptly and with better method , and in conclusion with more commendations handle this arte, he should do great wrong to ciuill societie , and to the duty which euery man oweth , (to labour what in him is for the common benefit) to defraud the world from participating of his so good thoughts and abilities. In the meane time , if any man happily guided by the rules & preecepts here set downe, lanching foorth into the dangerous maine

maine & current of the Court,
shall rather suffer shipwracke,
than safely furdele vp his sailes
in the desired hauen. Me thinks
without sinistrously iudging of
this doctrine learned byhim, he
should call to mind, that among
arts, there are some which are
called Coniecturall; and the rea-
son is, because albeit their teach-
ing or instructing part propo-
seth a certeine knownen end or
scope, from the which there may
demonstratiuely bee deduced
certeine conclusions, the which
wil make the context of the do-
ctrine both apparent and neces-
sary, so farre forth as the nature
of things to be acted will give
leauue or suffer; wherein the wi-
test are of opinion, that it is not
possible to frame perfect de-
monstrations. Notwithstand-
ing, the active part doth never
of

of necessitie performe the purposed end, although it perform all the actions so much as can be desired , proportionall and correspondent to the same. For so we see an excellent & famous Captain, who in euery part hath performed the dutie of his proper charge , yet his hope of victorie may faile him , and not sort as hee desired. So likewise without errore of arte, the most expert Mariner many times loseth himselfe and the ship hee sailes in. Nor lesse vnluckie sometimes the Physician ministreth his drugges to the sicke patient without hope of helpe. Nor many times can the aptest and most artificiall Rhetoritian remoue a settled minde from a purposed resolution. To leaue to speake of many such like arts, the which not by necessitie, but

con-

contingently, and as it were by fortune or chance, obteine their desired ends, the *Couriers* arte being amongst them, the precepts thereof may worke no lesse erroneously than those of other arts called *Coniecturall*. Wherefore, if after the obseruance of the aboue noted advertisements, that fauor or grace shall not bee obteined, or that which is much worse, if by any accident it shuld be lost, so that assuredly there were discouered small satisfaction in the Prince; it resteth, that for the ful accomplishment & perfecting of this worke, we should set downe in this case what wee thinke considerable and necessarie therein for the *Courtiers* benefit.

And questionlesse there cannot be a greater torment to the hart of him that serueth, then to

see

see himselfe lightly regarded or beloved of his Lord , and this accident particularly worketh greatest effects in those who haue not their mindes armed with naturall magnanimity , or vertuous education , but are rather of a disdainefull spirit , not able to endure the conforming of their affections , to the prescript rule or square of another mans opinion , will or direction , especially in the maner of his living either in peaceable quietnesse , or vnquier busynesse : whereupon it followeth many times , the resolutions of such men in these cases are verie strange and vncosiderate .

Wherfore in this so doubtfull a passage to conduct him foorth by the guidance of wise and fruitfull counsell , we first say , that as in bodily sicknesses ,
the

the cause knownen, remedies for
the cure therof are easily appli-
ed : so must the Courtier, so
much as in him is, diligently
seeke out the occasion that mo-
ueth his Prince or Lord to bee
angry or not well disposed to-
wards him, to the end either by
himselfe, or by meanes of some
other to moue him therein : yet
so, that it fall not within the pre-
judice of his principal designes,
as before hath beeene handled,
because then it should be better
to leauue the seruice, by crauing
licence to depart. But because
~~x~~ it is a saying, *Che piaga, per allen-
sar d'arco non sanata;* That the vn-
bending of the bow is no hea-
ling of the wound : so is it not
enough many times to remoue
the cause of this displeasure, for
the minde notwithstanding re-
maines still exulcerate and gree-
ued.

ued. It is necessary therefore not onely to remoue the cause of this anger, but to proceed in the obseruance of those aduertisements which the Rhetoritians teach for the lenefying and appeasing of minds once mooded, as *humiliation*, *acknowledging of the errorre*, *accusing himselfe*, *craving pardon*, *offring himselfe readie to all satisfaction*: and continuing with all patience in these courses, hee may make it apparent how much he valueth the favor & loue of his Prince, with the sorrow hee sustaineth for his displeasure: for this anger growing of an offence, which containeth a neglect by these foresaid demonstrations, such a counterpoise may bee made in opinion to be thought despised and disgraced, that in the end it may bring the Prince

to put on a more gentle and pacified minde towards the Courtier: so that this offence and cause of badde satisfaction, haue not taken such roote, that it prooue rather a hatred then a dislike; because that in such case as to a more greeuous maladie, a more potent medicine is necessarie; the which manie times the Courtier by no means of obsequious diligence shal be able to finde; whereupon hee must haue recourse to the helpe of intercession and mediation by some others, as the Princes kindred, his friends, and other Courtiers in greatest fauour. But if none of these courses can stay the wrath nor appease the same, so that the hope of recoverie of fauour be wholly extinct, the *End and Scope* of his seruice being taken away: it necessarily

cessarily followeth, that the societie also betweene the Prince and the Courtier should be dissolved by his abandoning and leauing of the seruice. This resolution must bee taken but upon vrgent necessarie, for that otherwise it would come sel-dome to passe, but that the Courtier should incur great detriment, either by opinion of some speciall want in him, and chiefly in those that haue liued in greatest fauour; or of some rash presumption, as supposing nothing can coequall his de-serts; or of an inconstancie of nature which will neuer continue long in one course; or finally, by the losse of a Princes protection, besides histime, & it may be, the flower of his age vainely spent, and to small pur-pose; things all of them of spe-ciall

ciall regard and estimation. But when the case is desperate , it shall bee better to bestow the remnant of his life, in some other service or imployment, then unmercifully to serue , where he may sooner expect a sudden death, than hope to compleat any of those Ends , which C. serveth in Court .

Hee hath aime at and
profound.

and will easelby . Ordinariwise
comes in 27 JU 50

and 28 JU 50 . I . S.

to accomodate us to his
service when hee shalbe
come to the court .
Hee is a man of great
courage and a good
solider .

Hee

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